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HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF

THE REFORMATION.

Beati pacifici.

Let those be severe upon persons who are in error, who themselves know not with what labour Truth is discovered, and Error avoided. Let those be severe who know not how harshly the diseases of the mind are cured, and the eye of the understanding prepared to see the light. Let those be severe who were never entangled in error. As for me I cannot be severe: for I well know the patience and long forbearance I myself have wanted.—*St. Augustine of Hippo*, "1 *Ep. ad Fund.*"

Fide et constantiâ.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF

THE REFORMATION.

BY THE

REV. FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, D.C.L.,

VICAR OF ALL SAINTS', LAMBETH, ETC., ETC.

"The Truth shall make you free."

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"THE CHURCH WAS TAKEN OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE CLERGY TO BE MANAGED BY THE LAITY. THE KING AND THE TEMPORAL ESTATES OVERRULED THE SPIRITUALTY. IF THE CHURCH HAD BEEN LEFT TO HER PROPER OFFICERS TO BE REFORMED, AND THE NEEDFUL COMPULSION GIVEN TO THEM WHICH IT WAS ALWAYS IN THE POWER OF THE KING AND THE TEMPORALTY TO APPLY, THE STATE OF THE NATION WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER AT THIS DAY."

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

By R. W. DIXON. Vol. I. p. 7. London: 1878.

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"HUMAN nature naturally dislikes an Authority which, though exercised by men, claims to be superhuman. The Civil Power is of the Earth, and akin to men themselves. Under some forms of constitution they share in it. At any rate, they understand it, or think they do, and therefore it does not offend their pride. This is singularly illustrated in Jewish History. The Jews had been governed by the Vicegerents of Heaven; but they clamoured for a temporal government. They told Samuel that they would have a King like other nations. He was commanded to tell them that by rejecting the Prophets they rejected God, and to warn them of all the evils which they would suffer under a temporal government. But they insisted on having a temporal King. And soon afterwards the King persecuted the Church."—*Sir George Bowyer.*

TO THE

PRELATES, PROVOSTS, PRIESTS, AND MEMBERS

OF THE

ORDER OF CORPORATE RE-UNION,

WHO,

IN DAYS OF IRRELIGIOUS STRIFE,

ECCLESIASTICAL TURMOIL, AND INTELLECTUAL CONFUSION,

ARE PRAYING FOR PEACE

AND LABOURING PRACTICALLY FOR THE RESTORATION OF VISIBLE UNITY

TO A DISORGANIZED AND DISTRACTED CHRISTENDOM,

These Sketches

ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

"1. We cannot under any circumstances obey the Civil Power when its commands are opposed to the Divine Law.

"2. When Laws are unjust they are not binding on the conscience.

"3. But it may become necessary to obey these laws from motives of prudence: that is to avoid scandal and commotions."—*St. Thomas Aquinas.*

PREFACE.

CONCERNING the sixteenth-century changes, I have told here only true stories, and recorded undoubted facts. Such, after due and careful research, need neither fanciful garnishing nor picturesque additions. Complete in themselves, and telling their own tale only too plainly, they set forth in a series of nine pictures, certain events of some moment, which occurred in the earlier part of the great era of change; which accounts I trust may serve to give a more true conception of the actual work of the Reformation than some other well-garnished narratives which have been popular for so long a period, and must have been the efficient means of giving erroneous impressions, and of misleading many in their judgment of that event.

Burnet, Hume, Macaulay, J. A. Froude, and J. R. Green, have presented the public with one side of the picture,—Heylin, Jeremy Collier, Dr. S. R. Maitland, Mr. J. H. Blunt, and Canon Dixon with another. By those last-named, old facts have been set in a new light: fresh discoveries of contemporary MSS. have possibly served to change sentiment and to soften judgments; while many, amongst the prejudiced and half-informed, to whom darkness has appeared light and light darkness, are learning a new and necessary lesson with success and effect.

To those who, like myself, believe that both as regards the works of *con*struction and *de*struction the latest and last acts of the Reformation-drama are not yet played out, while active interest in them exists uninfluenced and energetic yet; these nine pictures of the past may not be altogether unworthy of perusal, or uninteresting.

If the Great Rebellion was the reasonable and logical outcome of the changes under Henry and Elizabeth, which many most reasonably believe it to have been, the still further changes in the dethronement of King James II. and the intrusion

and usurpation of William of Holland, forty years later, seem to follow as a natural sequence.

What in the future history of our nation will be the end,—which course of principles (whether those of unity, authority, order, and law, on the one hand, or of rebellion, discord, and disorder on the other) will eventually triumph, remains to be seen. At all events, tokens of the making of a clearer line of demarcation between historical controversialists, and of taking opposite sides, are appearing on all hands. Lawlessness, licence, and unbounded selfishness in a nation, sometimes need, as their only possible cure, a military despotism. What has been may be.

My object, amongst other inferior purposes, in penning the pages which follow, has been to magnify legitimate Authority, (not, however, that authority which Might assumes over Right;) and to advance the cause, be the step ever so short, of Corporate Re-union amongst perplexed and contending Christians. F. G. L.

All Saints' Vicarage, Lambeth,
October 8th, 1878.

ERRATA.

P. 17, line 4, *for* Thaxton *read* Shaxton.
P. 170, line 7, *for* thoughtfulness *read* thankfulness.

No. I.

THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF

THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX.

"Yea!
Rose, like some lurid light from damp morass
Or steaming dunghill: rose, and star-like shone;
So that men, back-bent, followed with bland smile
Or fulsome praise, or flattering, falsest words.
(His—ermined robe and coronet of gems,
The monarch's favour; nighest to the throne.)
Then, when the Night grew darker, flickering, sank:—
Gloom, isolation, darkness black as Hell."

The Sorrows of Sewallis.

"Protestantism, interested in crushing by all possible means the power of the popes, exalted that of kings, even in spiritual matters. By thus concentrating in their hands the spiritual and temporal powers, it left the throne without any sort of counterpoise. By destroying the hope of obtaining liberty by peaceable means, it led the people to have recourse to force, and opened the crater of those revolutions which have cost modern Europe so many tears."—*European Civilization, Balmez.*

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF THE REFORMATION.

No. I.

THE

HISTORY OF THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX.

A.D. 1490—1540.

It would have been morally impossible for a monarch so arbitrary and tyrannical as Henry the Eighth to have successfully compassed the total destruction of the monastic system in England, and the subversion of the ancient religion, unless he had first obtained the tacit co-operation of the impoverished nobility ; and further secured, by the appointment of Thomas Cranmer to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, a pliant servant of the highest ecclesiastical rank, who would do his royal master's will with due subservience ; and such an unscrupulous lay-tool as Thomas Cromwell, to second and carry out the project. Our concern now is with the latter and his doings.

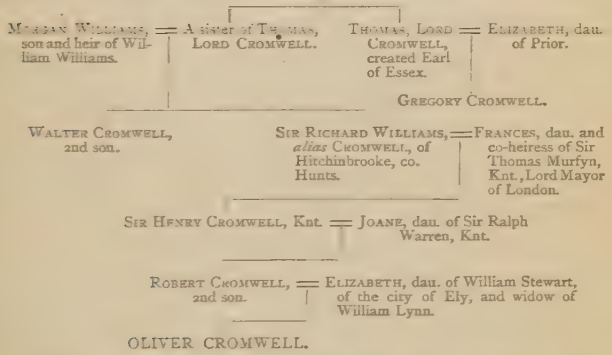
When it is in the power of kings and rulers

to perpetrate gross acts of injustice; when the principle that "might is right" is tolerated and approved, and when able and unscrupulous co-adjutors have been found to co-operate in doing injustice, those who may have planned it, are at no great loss for pretence to justify their course of proceeding.

To turn the life-owners of estates out of their estates; to uproot and overturn institutions which had existed for eight centuries, and were deservedly valued and venerated by the English people from their childhood; to set all law, human and divine, at defiance; to make a monarch's will law for the time being; to violate every true principle on which property rested; to rob those who had deliberately and solemnly consecrated their lives to the service of God; to deface and destroy religious houses and sanctuaries of retirement and rest, where the worship of the Blessed Trinity had been piously rendered for centuries, needed the services of a suitable agent. This was found in Thomas Cromwell, the son of Walter Cromwell, a blacksmith of Putney, who was born at or about the year 1490, and through whose sister who married a Welshman named Williams, another tyrant of a later age, Oliver Cromwell, claimed descent from the family at Putney.[1]

[1] The relationship between Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and Oliver Cromwell, the usurper and regicide, is set forth in the following genealogical chart (p. 5):—

He is said to have been first employed in the English factory at Antwerp, and was afterwards engaged in the service of the Duke of Bourbon as a soldier: though some writers affirm that prior to this he had been when a mere youth a page or body-servant to Thomas, Lord Cardinal Wolsey. Anyhow he was present when Pope Clement VII. was made prisoner at the disastrous sack of the city of Rome in 1527;[2] and by his


Walter Cromwell, of Putney, co. Surrey.
Morgan Williams, son and heir of William Williams.
Alsiter of Thomas, Lord Cromwell.
Thomas, Lord Cromwell, created Earl of Essex.
Elizabeth, dau. of Prior.
Gregory Cromwell.
Walter Cromwell, 2nd son.
Sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, of Hitchinbrooke, co. Hunts.
Frances, dau. and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Murfyn, Knt., Lord Mayor of London.
Sir Henry Cromwell, Knt.
Joane, dau. of Sir Ralph Warren, Knt.
Robert Cromwell, 2nd son.
Elizabeth, dau. of William Stewart, of the city of Ely, and widow of William Lynn.
OLIVER CROMWELL.

[2] "It is impossible to describe, or even to imagine, the misery and horror of that scene which followed. Whatever a city taken by storm can dread from military rage unrestrained by discipline; whatever excesses the ferocity of the Germans, the avarice of the Spaniards, or the licentiousness of the Italians could commit, these the wretched inhabitants were obliged to suffer. Churches, palaces, and the houses of private persons, were plundered without distinction. No age, or character, or sex, was exempt from injury. Cardinals, nobles, priests, matrons, virgins, were all the prey of soldiers, and at

intercourse with various continental people and places had obtained the usual advantages of travel and experience.

On his return to England he was again employed by Wolsey, by whom he appears to have been much esteemed for his vigour and boldness.

When, in the year 1529, that eminent prince of the Church and prelate fell,[3] Cromwell certainly had the courage and honesty to stand by his friend and master,—the single redeeming feature in his otherwise detestable character.

This feature, attracting the attention of the king, as was reported, induced his Majesty to command Cromwell's services, which were given with such dexterous servility, unscrupulous tactics, and commanding resolution, that the road to the

the mercy of men deaf to the voice of humanity. Nor did these outrages cease, as is usual in towns carried by assault, when the first fury of the storm was over: the imperialists kept possession of Rome several months, and during all that time, the insolence and brutality of the soldiers scarce abated."—Robertson's "History of Charles V." vol. ii. p. 286.

[3] Henry VIII. treated his true and faithful minister Wolsey with singular injustice. First, under the royal hand and seal the king indemnified him to exercise the powers of a legate; and then allowed him to be impeached on that very account, and stripped of all his goods and chattels. At the same time the king seized and kept from the accused those very credentials, duly signed and sealed by his Grace, by which Wolsey might have successfully and triumphantly defended himself had he possessed them.

highest honours in the State shortly presented an unimpeded course for his ambition. In a very few years he filled successively the important offices of Master of the Jewel-House, Clerk of the Hanaper, Principal Secretary of State, Lord Justice of the Forests, Master of the Rolls, and Lord Privy Seal; and was elevated to the Peerage by Letters Patent dated 9th July, 1536, by the style and title of Baron Cromwell, of Oakham, in the county of Rutland.[4] It is on record, and should not be passed over, that he was both bountiful and hospitable to the poor. Sometimes as many as two thousand persons were served at the gate of his mansion in Throckmorton Street, London—a site on which Drapers' Hall now stands—twice every day with bread, meat, and beer.

King Henry, having assumed the style, title, dignity, and powers of "the only Protector and Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England," — and this immediately after the spiritualty, in 1531, had granted him a heavy subsidy, equivalent to two million pounds of our present money,—almost immediately delegated

[4] The arms granted to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, were,—Azure; on a fesse inter three lions rampant, Or; a rose, Gules, betwixt two choughs proper. His son Gregory, summoned to Parliament, 28th April, 1539, as Lord Cromwell, was created Baron Cromwell, 18th December, 1540, receiving as arms,—Quarterly per fesse indented, Azure and Or in each piece; a lion passant counterchanged, armed and langued, Gules.

his new and unprecedented authority to Thomas, Lord Cromwell. In vain had Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, protested against the sacrilegious innovation, although properly admitting that "all worldly and earthly honour was to be given to the king, which could be given to a Christian prince by his spiritual and priestly subjects." The Supreme Head, however, was not to be moved; he did not budge an inch as regards his Erastian assumptions, and Cromwell was soon afterwards duly appointed "Royal Vicegerent and Vicar-General" of the newly-made Head of the English Church.[5]

This person was to exercise "all the spiritual authority belonging to the king, for the due administration of justice in all cases touching the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the godly reformation and redress of errors, heresies, and abuses in the said church."

Prior to this event and its immediate consequences, however, the various stages in what is commonly called the "Reformation of religion" had been taken with steady resolve and a most determined purpose by the king and his selected coadjutors. It was maintained by those high in

[5] Anciently the Pope had had a Vicar-General in England, and Cardinal Wolsey had, on the last occasion, filled that office: so each diocesan bishop had owned an officer with such a title. Here, no doubt, Cromwell and the king found satisfactory precedents.

legal rank, that the clergy had suffered the penalty of *præmunire* by having acknowledged the legatine authority of the Cardinal Archbishop of York; but these penalties (whatever they were in themselves) were "graciously remitted" by the Supreme Head on payment of no less a sum than £100,000 in five years by the Convocation of Canterbury, and of £18,840 for a like pardon by the Convocation of York. By Henry's special injunction, the bestowal of these enormous amounts was accompanied by a fresh and full acknowledgment that his Grace was "the chief Protector, the only and Supreme Lord, and, as far as the law of Christ will allow, the Supreme Head" of the Church of England.

Of course there had often been disputes and ecclesiastical debates of old. Where rights and corresponding responsibilities existed, and sometimes had to be adjusted, some disputes must have arisen. They had reference, however, to the mere temporal accidents of ecclesiastical affairs; they concerned patronage, investiture, exemptions from taxes and courts of civil judicature, sanctuary, the admission of legates and the appealing to Rome, in which both parties to the suit produced custom against custom and laws against laws. But the idea of an English monarch claiming or owning a supreme spiritual jurisdiction,—which, of course, implies the right and power of correcting and redressing heresies and errors, and pronouncing

finally upon matters of faith and practice,—never entered into the minds either of monarch or people.

In the spring of 1532, the illustrious and high-minded Sir Thomas More[6] resigned the Lord High Chancellorship; while about four months later, the king raised his mistress, Anne Boleyn, to the dignity of Marchioness of Pembroke. Thomas Cranmer was appointed to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, by a Papal Bull dated 21st February, 1533. In the following year the clergy were forbidden to make canons or constitutions; while none of those existing were to be enforced contrary to the king's prerogative, and all appeals to Rome were absolutely abolished. The payment of first-fruits was also declared illegal and strictly forbidden, and that generally-recognized papal power of hearing appeals, which had existed since the mission of St. Augustine, first Archbishop of Canterbury, and by which local churches were visibly bound and bonded together both in faith and polity, was formally set aside by Act of Parliament. The customary and reasonable confirmation of bishops by the Primate of Christendom was abolished—persons so regarding or seeking it henceforth being subject to all the penalties of the

[6] Sir Thomas More, on the occasion of this resignation, is reported to have advised Cromwell to tell the king what he ought to do, rather than what he was able to do. If Cromwell had done so, no doubt he would have remained the king's minister only for a very short time.

statutes of *præmunire*. In 1533, Cromwell assessed the fines laid upon those gentlemen, who, owning an estate which brought in £40 a year, refused to receive the order and honour of knighthood. In 1534, the king's marriage with Queen Katherine of Aragon was declared invalid; she was henceforth to be styled "the Princess Dowager;" and any one found maintaining the contrary, viz., that she was the king's lawful wife, incurred the penalties of high treason, i. e., hanging, drawing, and quartering. The first-fruits and tenths of all benefices, heretofore paid to the Pope, were then granted by Parliament to the king.

All these steps were taken under the advice and with the active and efficient co-operation of Thomas Cromwell.

But there was still much to be done. Difficulties standing in the way of robbery and reformation were considerable, but by no means insuperable. Those irons, already put into the fire, were likely, in due course, to be used largely for breaking down the spirit, independence, and power of the secular clergy. But the influence of the regulars was still very great, and this must be at once circumscribed, if not wholly stamped out, by *their* "reformation" likewise, if anything permanent was to be accomplished.

In order, suitably and with reasonable tactics, to commence this new step in a "godly" work, a visitation of the religious houses was determined

on. This resolve appears to have been finally taken, after due consideration with the king's chief advisers, at or about the 15th of January, 1535, when his Grace formally assumed the title of "Only Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England," which had been granted by a statute recently passed. The clergy generally had acknowledged that title, with such personal explanations and reservations as seemed lawful or expedient to them: but the religious houses were held to be the strongholds of the king's foes.

As it was impossible that one Vicar-General could properly investigate the state of these sacred and venerable institutions, Cromwell appointed several deputies to aid him practically in making the visitation. The selection of these was his own work; though their formal commissions were, of course, under the king's hand and signet. Almost all owning fly-blown characters, their names were Drs. Richard Layton, London, Bedyll, Thomas Lee,[7] and Petre, and Messrs. Richard and

[7] Though this Thomas Lee was evidently a member of the family of Lee of Quarrendon, Bucks, and Dytchley, Oxon, I am unable to identify him for certain in either of three old pedigrees of the family now before me. He is said to have been a Doctor of Laws, and his connexion with those who were ancestors of Lord Litchfield is apparent from the fact that he appropriated a Book of the Gospels from Durham Cathedral when "visiting" it, which eventually passed into the hands of Thomas Phillips, S.J. According to a pedigree in the possession of General Townshend, of Cheshire, "Thomas

Robert Southwell, Elijah Price, John Gage, Richard Bellasis, William Hendell, and John Ap Rice; and, remembering their deeds, they certainly deserve to be had in everlasting execration. Dr. Richard Layton had been in Cardinal Wolsey's service; and his patron, as well as Thomas Lee's, was Cromwell.

For the purposes of this visitation, the country was divided into appointed districts, and two or more of these official deputies were sent to inquire into the state of the religious houses in each. Some of the deputies were men of notoriously infamous characters, some of them had been branded,

Lee," Visitor of the Monasteries, may have been a son of Henry Lee, of Aston, and uncle of Sir Anthony Lee, who was father of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., of Quarrendon and Dytchley. Sir Anthony's third son, Cromwell Lee, was a godson and namesake of the Earl of Essex. I take the following facts from a foot-note on p. 78 of Raine's "Saint Cuthbert," Durham, 1828: A Book of the Gospel according to St. John, found at the Reformation, in the coffin of St. Cuthbert, lying near the saint's head, was not restored to its place, but "fell into private hands, and became the property of the Lee family, one of whom was created Earl of Litchfield by Charles II. The third Earl of Litchfield (George Henry Lee) gave it to the Rev. Thomas Phillips (of Thame, Oxon, and Ickford, Bucks), the author of 'The Life of Cardinal Pole,' who bestowed it on the College of the Jesuits at Liège, in the year 1769, some members of which brought it to England after their suppression." See also an "Account of an Ancient Manuscript of St. John's Gospel, by the Rev. John Milner, F.S.A., in a Letter to the Rev. John Brand, Secretary. Read June 5th, 1806."—"Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries," vol. xvi. p. 17. See Appendix, No. I.

having been convicted of heinous crimes. On arriving at the gates of the houses, they appear to have demanded an immediate production of money, jewels, church-plate, and vestments ; but specially of the title-deeds of their property.[8]

To quote from an able and forcible writer as to their general doings and customary processes,— "The monks and nuns, who had never dreamed of the possibility of such proceedings, who had never had an idea that Magna Charta and all the laws of the land could be set aside in a moment, and whose recluse and peaceful lives rendered them wholly unfit to cope with at once crafty and desperate villainy, fell before these ruffians as chickens fall before the kite. The Report, made by these villains met with no contradiction ; the accused parties had no means of making a defence ; there was no court for them to appear in ; they dared not, even if they had the means, offer a defence or make a complaint ; for they had seen the horrible consequences, the burnings, the rippings-up of all those of their brethren who had ventured to whisper their dissent from any dogma or decree of the Tyrant. The project was to deprive people of

[8] The instrument to be made use of in this Visitation, consisted of eighty-six articles, in which, under the heads of "Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience," a large number of searching interrogatories were to be proposed to the religious, relating both to their general and particular constitutions, their relations with the opposite sex ; their discipline, revenues, inventories of goods, writings, and charters.

their property ; and yet the parties from whom the property was to be taken were to have no court in which to plead their cause, no means of obtaining a hearing, could make even no complaint but at the peril of their lives. They, and those who depended on them, were to be at once stripped of this great mass of property, without any other ground than that of reports made by men sent for the express purpose of finding a pretence for the dissolution of the monasteries, and for the king's taking to himself property that had never belonged to him or his predecessors."

In the spring of the same year, that is the year 1535, Cromwell, in order not to forget the secular clergy, and at the same time not to allow them to forget him, suggested to the king the desirability of compelling all those bishops and ecclesiastical authorities who appeared at all backward in their duties, to recommend the same kind of subserviency to the inferior clergy under them as they had shown to the Supreme Head and ordinary, and to his Vicar-General. By consequence official letters were despatched to all the English bishops, enjoining them to preach the newly-adopted Gospel of Erastianism with zeal and devotion. They were to put in the forefront of their homilies the novel title and ecclesiastical dignity of the king, now formally assumed, and to see that on all Sundays and feast-days the preachers under them did the same in plain and

unmistakable terms. They were at the same time strictly enjoined to erase from the service-books of the Church, every prayer, rule, and rubric in which the name of the Pope occurred, so that, as the phrase ran, the "memory of the Bishop of Rome except to his contumely and reproach might be extinct, suppressed and obscured." A new form of bidding the beads before sermons was also enjoined by Cromwell, the clergy being required to pray "for the king, only Supreme Head of the Catholic Church of England, and for Queen Anne." It was also required, amongst other precise directions, that every preacher should preach once on the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome; and refrain from siding with his Grace's wife, Queen Katherine; that collects for the king and the lady known as "Queen Anne" should be used at all high masses in every cathedral and parish church, as well as in the churches of all religious houses, throughout the land; while, as a still more practical stir-up of their flagging energies, the clergy were furthermore furnished with a kind of outline of a special sermon upon the history of the king's divorce case, in which ready-made arguments and royal reasons were abundantly provided to uphold the policy and morals of the Supreme Head. All, furthermore—perhaps with a dash of irony—were expressly required "to preach only the Scripture and the pure word of Christ."

The bishops obediently did as they were told, returning prompt and submissive replies to Cromwell. Gardiner and Goodrich, as well as Archbishop Lee of York and Thaxton of Salisbury (as early as June 4th), were foremost to inform their lay-superior, the king's Vicar-General, how truly and thoroughly they had complied with his orders; while Longland of Lincoln, on June 25th, wrote to say that he had not only preached himself, as directed, but had printed and circulated in his extensive diocese no less than two thousand copies of the Printed Order, for the advancement of the king's wishes and cause. Within five weeks most of the prelates had sent in their replies.

But some few of them, and many of the inferior clergy, were not quite so obedient and subservient to the royal Defender of the Faith as they perhaps might have been. A few were silent and sullen, as was reported to Cromwell by his active and inquisitorial agents; others were outspoken and plain-spoken in opposition, both to the Supreme Head and his Vicar-General. So, within ten days of the despatch of the Order regulating the preaching of the clergy, a circular Letter was sent to all the Justices of the Peace throughout the country, commanding them to make immediate and diligent search, and insist that the bishops did their duty as required without diminution or omission. This took place on the

9th of June. To place the bishops and clergy under the town and county magistrates, though perhaps something of a novelty in church government, was quite worthy of a lay Vicar-General and the king's other advisers. If default or dissimulation were found, it was to be reported without delay to the king's council: and if this were not done promptly and efficiently by the Justices of the Peace,—if, for example, they should halt or stumble, they were to be assured that the king, like a prince of justice, would so severely punish them for their inexcusable apathy that all the world beside would take warning and beware, contrary to their due allegiance, how they disobeyed the lawful commandment of their Sovereign Lord and Prince in such things. On the other hand, if they were true and faithful in the execution of their duty, it was authoritatively and right royally asserted that "they should thus advance the honour of God Almighty," and, what was obviously of far more importance, "the imperial dignity of their High and Mighty Sovereign Lord."

Three priors of three Carthusian monasteries were foremost in boldly resisting the claim of spiritual supremacy made by the king when the oath was legalized. One was John Houghton, prior of London; another Robert Lawrence, prior of Beauvalle; and the third Augustine Webster, prior of Axholme. The charge against them was

that they had asserted that "the King, our Sovereign Lord, is not Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England." This was reported generally, and, reaching the ears of King Henry, made him not simply angry but furious.

On hearing this the three priors, in their simplicity, sought an interview with Cromwell, asking his aid, as Vicar-General, in obtaining some mitigation of the terms of the oath. In reply to this request, he at once ordered them to the Tower. After they had been there a week, the Vicar-General arrived to tender the oath anew, to urge upon them an immediate acceptance of the new royal supremacy, and a formal renunciation of the Pope's ancient and hitherto recognized authority.

They promised to do and accept everything which was in harmony with, and permitted by the law of God.

"I will have no exceptions," replied the Vicar-General. "It must be done whether the law of God allows it or not."

"But the Church Universal teaches quite a contrary doctrine," replied the spokesman of the priors.

"What care I for the Church Universal?" was Cromwell's retort. "Will you take the oath or not?"

They declined, quietly and firmly to do so, and were consequently put upon their trial for high treason.

This took place at Westminster, on the 29th of April, 1535, when they were speedily convicted, drawn to the gallows, hanged, cut down alive, dismembered, and then quartered.

Others of the same order, on the 18th of June, suffered in a similar manner at Tyburne, for a like pretended offence; while William Horne, a lay brother, who had been sent to Newgate at the end of the month of May, half-starved, and undergoing the most cruel sufferings, which he endured for no less than four years, suffered death in November, 1541. Others were similarly treated at Hull.

The death of the holy and faithful man, Cardinal John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and that of the upright and noble Sir Thomas More, some time Lord Chancellor, two men most famed for learning, integrity, and true religion in England, gave a shock to the people which was both acute and severe. The zeal on behalf of, and personal devotion to the king shown by Fisher had been great. He nobly rebuked the king's conduct, both as regards religion and morals. The absurd and ridiculous supremacy recently invented he utterly condemned; to the divorce of Queen Katherine he gave the most uncompromising resistance, in return for which, after fifteen months' imprisonment, where he was treated like a common felon, buried in filth, and almost destitute of food and clothing, he perished nobly at the block. His naked body—the body of a venerable prelate who

had been anointed to the episcopate thirty years and more previously—was left on the scaffold the whole day, to the eternal shame of those who were responsible for the deed; and only buried at nightfall, without any shroud, in a common box of wood, and without either cross, lights, priest, or prayers, near the north door of the church of All Hallows', Barking.

As regards Sir Thomas More, after trial had, he was condemned as a traitor and a rebel. On the 6th of July he suffered death. When on the scaffold, after prayer, he called the people to witness that he died in the Catholic faith, and pardoned the executioner, there ran a chilling shudder through the crowd (though many of the myrmidons of Cromwell were there), which represented the general feeling of alarm, sorrow, and shame which the people of England experienced when they heard of the tragedy.

Foreign nations, likewise, were utterly horrified at the frightful brutalities of the royal monster. So much so that Cromwell, who had been the king's instigator and guide throughout, was compelled to make the following lame apology for the cruel and bloody business: "Concerning the executions done within this realm, ye shall say to the said French king that the cause were not so marvellous extreme as he allegeth. For, touching Mr. More and the Bishop of Rochester, with most others as were executed here, their treasons, conspiracies, practices

secretly practised, as well within the realm as without, to move and stir dissension, and to sow sedition within the realm, intending thereby not only the destruction of the king, but also the whole subversion of his highness's realm, being explained and declared, and so manifestly proved afore them, that they could not avoid nor deny it; and they thereof openly detected and lawfully convicted, adjudged and condemned of high treason by the due order of the laws of this realm, it shall and may well appear to all the world, that they, having such malice rooted in their hearts against their prince and sovereign, and the total destruction of the commonwealth of this realm, were well worthy, if they had had a thousand lives, to have suffered ten times a more terrible death and execution than any of them did suffer."

Cromwell's early experience of, and intercourse with, the lower classes of the continent with whom he had mixed freely during his sojourn there, as well as his observance of the ruder, but dexterous, tactics of the first foreign Reformers, no doubt led him to take several leaves out of their books in his work of reformation. He had noticed that the popular ballad-singers of foreign countries exercised a vast influence over the people, more especially in periods of religious and political excitement; and that certain irreligious innovators there, by the use of lewd parodies, jocose verses, and ribald ballads, sung in street, tavern, and ale-

house, had succeeded in efficiently weakening the old faith, which they had, by these means, brought into disrepute, and had so ridiculed sacred practices which the church of God had enjoined and Christians had obediently and profitably observed for centuries, that Cromwell resolved to adopt the use of such literature and co-operators for the purposes of "reform" in England.

This man, then, was the great patron of ribaldry, and the protector of the ribalds of the low jester, the filthy ballad-monger, the ale-house singers and hypocritical mockers in feasts: in short, in an indirect but yet efficient mode of all the blasphemous mocking and scoffing which disgraced the Protestant party at the time of the Reformation. "It is of great consequence," wrote the late Dr. Maitland, "in our view of the times, to consider that the vile publications, of which too many remain, while most have rotted, and the profane pranks which were performed, were not the outbreak of low, ignorant partizans, a rabble of hungry dogs, such as is sure to run after a party in spite even of sticks and stones bestowed by those whom they follow and disgrace. It was the result of design and policy, earnestly and elaborately pursued by the man possessing, for all such purposes, the highest place and power in the land."[9]

[9] "Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England," by the late Rev. S. R. Maitland, D.D., p. 236. London, 1849.

At the same time the ungodly and the frivolous in provincial cities and country towns were systematically enlisted on the side of the innovators. In many places where interest in the old and popular miracle-plays had been weakened or lost, by which too many had been taught by the eye as well as the ear, Cromwell's perambulating allies became active in supplying a new kind of public entertainment more in harmony with the current depraved taste.[1] Satire of the religious orders, a most popular subject for discussion, became common, and might be heard in ordinary conversation on all sides. Consequently, when plays, interludes, and farces, caricaturing the monks and religion, were performed in churchyards and sometimes even in churches by strolling players, equipped at head-quarters, the dialogues of which performances were often gross and the phrases

[1] "These were the stage-plays and interludes which were then generally acted, and often in churches. They were representations of the corruptions of the monks, and some other feats of the Popish clergy. The poems were ill-contrived, and worse expressed: if there lies not some hidden wit in these ballads (for verses they were not) which at this distance is lost. But from the representing the immoralities and disorders of the clergy, they proceeded to act the pageantry of their worship. This took with the people much."—Burnet's "History of the Reformation," book 3, vol. i. p. 303. The terms of Bonner's "Injunctions to the Clergy," issued in 1542, are such as to point out that certain persons "obstinately and violently enforced" such plays, in order that the work of corrupting the religion of the people might proceed apace.

of double-meaning numerous, the excited people flocked to witness the novel entertainments and to applaud and fee the actors.

As Jeremy Collier put on record in his "Ecclesiastical History of England:" "The clergy complained, as they had reason, against such licentious sport. 'This,' they said, 'was the way to let in atheism, and make all religion a jest; for, if people were allowed to burlesque devotion and make themselves merry with the ceremonies of the church, they would proceed to further extremities and laugh the nation out of their creed at last.'"[2]

Thus events passed quickly; while, as regards true religion, the progress downwards of too many of the nation's rulers and guides was sure and steady. In October, 1535, the actual visitation of the religious houses began, under the guidance and direction of Cromwell and his agents.

Nothing can exceed the falsehoods and hypocrisy[3] set forth in the preamble of the Act of

[2] "An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain," by Jeremy Collier, vol. v. p. 92. London, 1845.

[3] Even Latimer acknowledges the trickery and dishonesty perpetrated in this visitation. "I would not," he wrote, "that ye should do with chantry priests as ye did with the abbots when the abbeys were put down. For when these enormities were first read in the Parliament-house, they were so great and abominable that there was nothing but 'Down with them!' *But within a while after the same abbots were made bishops, as there be some of them yet alive, to save their pensions.* O Lord! think ye that God is a fool and seeth it not?"—Latimer's "Sermons," Parker Society's Edition, p. 123.

1536 for suppressing the lesser monasteries, on the strength of which action was taken. It contained statements both untrue, iniquitous, and infamous. Here are its exact terms :—

"Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living is daily used, and committed commonly in such little and small abbeys, and priories, and other religious houses, of monks, canons, and nuns, where the congregations of such religious persons is under the number of twelve persons ; whereby the governors of such religious houses, and their convents, spoil, destroy, consume, and utterly waste, as well their churches, monasteries, priories, principal houses, farms, granges, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as the ornaments of their churches, and their goods and chattels, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good religion, and to the great infamy of the king's highness, and the realm, if redress should not be had thereof : and albeit that many continual visitations have been heretofore had, by the space of two hundred years, and more, for an honest and charitable reformation of such unthrifty, carnal, and abominable living ; yet, nevertheless, little or none amendment is hitherto had : but their vicious livings shamelessly increaseth and augmenteth, and, by a cursed custom, so grown and infested, that a great multitude of the religious persons in such small houses do rather choose to rove abroad in apostasy, than to

conform themselves to the observation of good religion: so that, without such small houses be utterly suppressed, and the religious persons therein committed to great and honourable monasteries of religion in this realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously, for reformation of their lives; there can else be no redress, nor reformation in that behalf. In consideration whereof, the king's most royal majesty, being Supreme Head on earth, under God, of the Church of England, daily studying and devising the increase, advancement, and exaltation of tone, doctrine, and virtue in the said church, to the only glory and honour of God, and the total extirpation and destruction of vice and sin, having knowledge that the premises be true, as well by the complaints of their late visitations, as by sundry credible information; considering also, that divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein, thanks be to God, religion is well kept and observed, be destitute of such full numbers of religious persons as they might, and they may keep, hath thought good that a plain declaration should be made of the premises, as well to the Lords spiritual and temporal, as to others his loving subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled. Whereupon, the said Lords and Commons, by a great deliberation, finally be resolved, that it is, and shall be, much more to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of

this realm, that the possessions of such small religious houses, now being spent, spoiled, and wasted for increase and maintenance of sin, should be used and converted to better uses, and the unthrifty religious persons, so spending the same, to be compelled to reform their lives: and thereupon most humbly desire the king's highness, that it may be enacted, by authority of this present Parliament, that his Majesty shall have and enjoy to him, and for his heirs for ever, all and singular such monasteries."[4]

In addition to houses, granges, lands, and stock, such as wood, corn, and cattle, we thus perceive that this Act of Parliament gave the king all the household goods of the religious, as well as the gold, silver, jewels, and vestments of their chapels and chantries. Here, then, was a breach of Magna Charta; a distinct act of robbery, as well of the monks and nuns as of the needy,[5] the widow, the orphan, and the faithful departed.

[4] Statute 27 Henry VIII. chap. 28.

[5] "The loss of the monasteries was not only for the delay of virtue, prayer, and religion, but also of the politic commonwealth inestimable and important. I say they were the very working, not only of piety and devotion, but also of the happy flourishing of the commonwealth. Where were the blind, and lame, and other impotent poor people fed and succoured but there? I have heard that there was more such helpen in the city of Canterbury in one day than be now in all Kent: more in Winchester in one day than be now in all Hampshire, and the like may be said of other places."—Author's MS. Collections.

The living who were robbed were never summoned to state their case nor heard in their own defence; there was no express and definite charge made and set forth against any particular monastery. The general accusations against the whole body were vague and loose in the highest degree; while the absurdity of supposing that the presence of wickedness was peculiarly a characteristic of houses with a limited income, under £200 a year, was worthy of Cromwell, who had instigated the robbery.

He saw, and the king agreed with him, that the people were not yet quite prepared for so strong a measure as the suppression of *all* the religious houses. Some abbeys and monasteries were strong and powerful, and had many influential friends amongst the nobility and commonalty. So Cromwell, with consummate judgment, first attacked the weak.[6] High sounding pledges had

[6] "When the Bill for legalizing the proceedings had stuck long in the Lower House, and could get no passage, he (the king) commanded the Commons to attend him in the forenoon in his gallery, where he let them wait till late in the afternoon; and then coming out of his chamber, walking a turn or two amongst them, and looking angrily on them, first on one side and then on the other, at last, 'I hear,' saith he, 'that my Bill will not pass: but I will have it pass, or I will have some of your heads," and without other rhetoric or persuasion returned to his chamber. Enough was said; the Bill passed, and all was given him as he desired."—"History of Sacrilege," by Sir Henry Spelman, p. 206. London, Masters, 1853.

been indirectly given that if certain of the monastic properties were given to the king, no more taxes would be required of the people; and Cranmer openly preached to this effect to a large multitude of citizens outside St. Paul's Cathedral.[7] But it was soon found that the king could not retain the spoils for himself, so numerous and demanding were the reforming harpies who gathered round him for a due share of the valuable proceeds of robbery and confiscation. So that in less than four years his Highness found himself as poor, and his exchequer as exhausted as if he had never confiscated a single religious house and robbed his Maker.

When complaining to his confidential tool, Cromwell, of the singular greed and rapacity of the applicants for church lands and manors, the king is said to have exclaimed, "By our Lady, these cormorants when they have grabbed the garbage will evidently swallow the dish."

Upon which Cromwell reminded his Majesty, with a significant gesture, that there was much more to be had, and of greater value, by the taking of it, elsewhere.

"Tut, tut," replied the Supreme Head; "our

[7] "The king should, by the suppression of the abbeys, gather such an infinite treasure, that from time to time he should have no need, nor would not put the people to any manner of payment or charge for his or the nation's affairs." —Cranmer's Sermon at St. Paul's Cross.

whole kingdom would not staunch their gaping maws."

The greater monasteries, by the aid of his Vicar-General and the Commissioners appointed, were suppressed in 1539,—a year notorious for the enactment, first suggested by Cromwell, that henceforth the king's proclamations should be as potent and valid as Acts of Parliament; and equally remarkable for the total revolution at the same time effected in the mode of appointment of bishops. Henceforth the Supreme Head was empowered to erect bishop's sees by Letters Patent,[8] and to appoint bishops to them by the same novel process,—a course of action which in due time was taken by him,—several such bishoprics being thus irregularly and uncanonically established, and forming a precedent for the future which has been obsequiously followed in the Church of England.

Upon the resignation of the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal by Sir Thomas Boleyn, Thomas Cromwell had duly received the appointment on July 2nd, 1536. Eighteen days later, the same person, in his ecclesiastical capacity as Vicar-General of the king, secured the formal approbation of the Convocation of Canterbury to a

[8] It is thus seen that the evil deplored by the Rev. T. W. Mossman, in his Public Letter, entitled, "Bishops by Act of Parliament and Letters Patent" (London, 1877), had its origin during the reign of this notorious tyrant.

written document from the pen of Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford, which maintained that the king ought not to attend a General Council, though summoned to it by the Pope,—the same Convocation, or at all events a clear majority of its members, maintaining the singular proposition that no General Council could be summoned without the express consent and approbation of princes.

In 1537, Thomas Cromwell, whose offices and appointments were steadily growing in number and dignity, was created by Letters Patent titular "Dean of Wells," and for some time received the salary of that spiritual office. The wonder is that he was not created Archbishop of Canterbury, though the office of king's Vicar-General gave him precedence of both the archbishops and of all the clergy, which he not only claimed but exercised, and which the most exalted prelates quietly allowed him to assume.

Thus, in 1538, Cromwell, as their legal chief, issued formal Injunctions to the clergy, one detail of which enjoined upon them the duty of setting up the Bible in English in every church; and another required them to keep parochial Registers of all births, deaths, and marriages in their respective parishes—a useful and proper proceeding. The Bible in English here referred to, was probably that translation which had been made by Miles Coverdale: a translation soon followed by another, commonly known as "Matthews's," re-

garding which, Archbishop Cranmer wrote a suppliant letter to the king's Vicar-General, on August 4th, 1537, humbly seeking authority to circulate it in his province, "Until such time as that we, the bishops, shall set forth a better translation, which, I think," his Grace goes on satirically to predict, "will not be until a day after doomsday."

In the bitter struggle between the Temporal and the Spiritual, the remembrance of a previous contest, in which the great St. Thomas of Canterbury, had taken part, and the eventual triumph of his cause, had never been forgotten by the faithful in England. Their religious instinct regarding it was only too true. For three hundred years he had been reckoned amongst the saints. The miracles wrought at his tomb and elsewhere were notorious, and could not be gainsaid. Churches and chantries had been erected to his memory, and dedicated to God the Trinity, in his honour, because of his defence of the things of God against Cæsar. He was religiously invoked as the special patron of spiritual independence, and his prayers were constantly sought for, both by rich and poor. The Way of the Pilgrims to his sacred shrine at Canterbury, so well known to thousands, heard the constant footfall of the faithful over the slopes and through the bye-lanes of Kent. St. Thomas the Martyr was known to be near the throne of God, and believed to be a powerful intercessor,

both for church and realm. His popularity was, by consequence, great; so that when the doings of the rapacious Cromwell were noted and realized, and it took some time for this to take place, many could not fail to contrast the grand triumph of the Spiritual over the Temporal of old, with the utter state of degradation and shame to which the timorous prelates had at length allowed the Church to be brought.

Hence, at Cromwell's suggestion, a pompous, not to say ridiculous, proclamation was issued, dated November 16th, 1538, which stigmatized "Thomas Becket" as "a traitor," and forbad his being any longer received as a saint. The king, with his own hand, had already erased St. Thomas's name from a vellum copy of the old "English Litany of the Saints;" and blotted out the collects for his festivals in July and December, from a royal copy of the "Salisbury Missal." What the Supreme Head then did, through a freak of phrensy in private, the like he compelled others to do by regal authority throughout the land. The true offence of which St. Thomas had been guilty was obviously this: that the faithful for several centuries had lavished almost unknown riches and treasures upon his beautiful shrine. Its gold and silver and jewels were coveted by the king and his creatures. There must be some plausible excuse, therefore, for the robbery in contemplation; and this was the readiest and best to hand. "The king's Receiver,"

as is formally recorded, confessed that the gold and silver, and precious stones, and sacred vestments, taken away from the shrine filled six-and-twenty carts. The saint's relics, save a portion preserved in Italy and elsewhere, were burnt, and the ashes scattered to the winds.

But to turn once more to other events, which, in the long-run, exercised considerable influence on the eventual fate of Cromwell.

The so-called "Queen Anne," who had supplanted the king's lawful wife, soon suffered for her licentious wickedness. When upon the very brink of ruin she seemed to herself most secure. But it was not so; for a rival had been raised up in the person of Jane Seymour, one of Anne's maids-of-honour, the knowledge of whose influence with the king soon became known to her.

On January 29th, 1536, as Stowe declares, "Queen Anne was delivered of a man-child before her time, which was born dead." The king, anxious to see her offspring, came into her chamber, to find it dead, when she at once upbraided him with having transferred his affections to another, and so caused her present sorrow and loss.

In answer to an inquiry as to her health, she exclaimed, "See how well I must be, since the day when I found that abandoned woman, Jane, sitting on your knees!"

The king is said to have replied, "Be of good cheer, sweetheart, you shall have no reason to

complain of me again;" and then went out sorrowing at the loss of an heir.

After this the levity of her conduct with Norris, Weston, Brereton, and others, as is reported and believed, soon gave the king his looked-for opportunity to rid himself of her once for all. On the occasion of a tournament at Greenwich his Highness, keenly on the out-look, saw her drop a handkerchief,—picked up by one of her supposed favourites, who wiped his face with it; on which the king angrily rose in a hurry, with only six attendants, and returned in haste and at once to Westminster.

On the next day she was taken to prison,[9] and brought before certain judges, of whom her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, was one, the others being the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Cromwell, Lord Chancellor Audley, and Sir William Kingston, Lieutenant of the Tower. Having, after a trial, been found guilty of adultery, and other heinous

[9] In a letter to the king, expostulating with his Majesty, she "charges him with hard usage, and vindicates her innocency to the height. She lets him know she expected some inconstancy in her fortune, and that his Highness would be apt to disengage and flout in his affection. She desires she may be brought to a trial, but excepts against the prepossession of her judges. And if his Majesty has determined her fate, and she must be ruined by dint of calumny, she desires God to forgive him so great an injustice: appeals to the Last Judgment, where she does not question her own conduct in this matter will be sufficiently approved."—Collier's "History," vol. iv. p. 329. London, 1845.

offences, Anne Boleyn was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 19th, 1536.

On the very next day the king married Jane Seymour. Cranmer, on being called upon by his Majesty, having dissolved the marriage with Anne on the ground of a previous contract,—one which, only the year before, he had asserted himself to have formally and carefully examined; maintained that it offered no impediment whatsoever to the marriage of Anne with the king. Five weeks later the obsequious and fear-stricken Convocation of Canterbury approved of Cranmer's sentence; while Parliament promptly passed an Act, rendering it treason for any one to maintain that the king's marriage with Anne had ever been lawful, and praying his Majesty to secure for himself as soon as possible another wife.

Two days later, George, Lord Viscount Rochford (Anne Boleyn's brother), Henry Norris, William Brereton, Francis Weston, and Mark Smeaton, having gone through the form of a public trial, were executed, because they had been found to have committed adultery with Anne.

On October 24th, 1537, Queen Jane Seymour died, after having given birth to a son, named Edward.

The king immediately commissioned Cromwell to procure him another wife; for it was to this clever but unprincipled minister to whom his Majesty turned in need or necessity.

Like his master, Wolsey, Cromwell had, as has been shown, risen rapidly to fame and distinction; and like him he was doomed, and certainly most righteously doomed, to become an example of the instability and uncertainty of human greatness, attained, as in his case, by an utter sacrifice of true and noble principles.

Observing that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was rising in favour at court, Cromwell began to cast about for some immediate course of action which would enable him to retain his previous influence over the king, which certainly appeared to be steadily waning. He therefore endeavoured to bring about a marriage between his royal master and Anne of Cleves, a Lutheran, thus expecting great support for himself, and the party of which he and Cranmer were the most able and the least scrupulous leaders. But in this hope he was doomed to disappointment. The marriage took place, but its consequences served to seal his ruin. The king soon resolved to be rid of her. Her portrait by Holbein, painted expressly for his Majesty, was far too flattering; while the king's comments on her personal appearance, frigidity of disposition and manners, were the reverse of civil. Cranmer was called in to advise, and he, without scruple or difficulty, sanctioned a divorce; pronouncing the marriage null and void, on the ground that the king had never given his *inward* consent when he publicly made her his wife!

In the spring of the year 1540, in the hope of improving his position with his royal master, Cromwell resolved to maintain the new and absurd doctrine of the king's supremacy by certain practical and efficient action. In his deliberate opinion it was more than ever necessary to strike terror into the hearts of those "foolish and superstitious persons" who, still clinging to the old religion, denied it.

Accordingly, Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Nicholas Wilson, a Yorkshireman, were summarily sent to prison because they had either harboured or succoured certain persons who had expressed doubts as to the ecclesiastical supremacy of the king.

For the same reason, a wealthy London merchant, Richard Fermor, citizen and grocer—rich, and a person of high and good repute in the City of London—was deprived of all he possessed. Committed firstly to the Marshalsea, he was subsequently arraigned in Westminster Hall, attainted in *præmunire*, and so lost all his goods. Fermor's wife and children were, moreover, thrust out of doors; homeless, friendless, and moneyless.

But not one class alone was attacked. Sir John Neville, a firm adherent of the old religion, much beloved by his countrymen, and respected by rich and poor, was specially hateful to Cromwell, because the people everywhere openly regarded him with favour and admiration. One evening

Sir John was playing dice with the king, where he met Cromwell, who invited him to supper, an invitation which he accepted.

What followed had, as it appears, been privately arranged by his Majesty and his minister. From the supper-table Sir John Neville was, by Cromwell's orders, forcibly taken away to prison, and from prison to the block, where he suffered death, simply because he clung firmly and faithfully to the unreformed religion.

Cromwell also laid a snare for Lord Dacre,[1] a northern nobleman of high character and good repute. On the 9th of July, 1534, this peer was arraigned at Westminster for high treason; charged, in fact, with treasonable alliance with the Scots. Cromwell however, ill with the gout, was unable to be present, and, as was his custom, to manipulate and influence the judges. The Duke

[1] This was Sir William Dacre, third Lord Dacre of Gillesland, accused of treason by Sir Ralph Fenwyke. The evidence against him, by which it was attempted to maintain the charge, was mainly given by persons of low degree from the Scottish border, who were either suborned or brought forward by a vindictive feeling, arising from the severity with which he was reported to have exercised his office of Lord Warden of the Marches. In the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, he was Governor of Carlisle, and in the latter reign was joined with the Earl of Northumberland to negotiate a peace with Scotland. He married Elizabeth, fifth daughter of the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had four sons and five daughters. The title became extinct in 1634. Arms—Gules; three escallops, Argent.

of Norfolk, Lord High Steward, presided. But the accused peer was very soon acquitted. When the words "Not guilty" were heard, a marvellously hearty shout of joy rose from all ranks—so hearty, as Hall, the Chronicler, acknowledges, that "no man living may remember that ever he heard" the like.

Lord Dacre, knowing well enough that Cromwell hated him, nevertheless thought it not amiss to call upon him and intimate the fact of his acquittal and innocency. "Thank your lordship for your good-will," were Lord Dacre's words of civil gratitude.

"Thank my gouty legs," replied Cromwell rudely and testily: "by Our Lady you should have had what you deserved had they not kept me here at home.

After this, Cromwell advised the king to make a law that a man arbitrarily condemned in high treason, absent and without a trial, should be held to be no less legally and justly convicted than a man duly tried by a jury of his fellow-countrymen;—an enactment so monstrous and shocking that we wonder at its temporary acceptance. It secured Cromwell's certain downfall. Odious to the ancient nobility because of his low birth, high-handed policy,[2] and insolent bearing; detested by all the

[2] Stowe mentions that his own father was a sufferer by the rapacity and high-handedness of Cromwell. The earl arbitrarily removed a timber house which stood in Stowe's garden, in the city of London, and had it pulled away on rollers to a

clergy—even by those who had bribed him[3]—save the limited but noisy few who were on the side of the so-called "new learning;" hated, more especially, by Gardiner and those who acted with him, because of the revolutionary work of church-destruction in which Cromwell had taken so leading a part; and quite recently abhorred by the people in general because he had lately obtained a subsidy of four shillings in the pound from the clergy, and one-tenth and one-fifteenth from the laity, notwithstanding the enormous sums which had flowed into the treasury because of the robbery and ruin of the abbeys,—they looked on with satisfaction.

At this time, those who were most observant saw unmistakable tokens of Cromwell's fall. The king's manner towards him had changed altogether. His Majesty now showed marked signs of contempt, which were noticed by many of the courtiers. The people, who had lost so much by his policy, were loud in their murmurings; nor were the aristocracy otherwise than heartily indignant with him. It was noticed that he was frequently alone. Old allies avoided him. He was often left silent and solitary—suitable prelude of his fall and death.

distance of twenty-two feet, without the least notice or any explanation, simply because his lordship thought it stood a little too near to his own palace.

[3] Cromwell was constantly found ready to take bribes. See, *e. g.*, "State Papers," ii. 551.

The king, ever capricious, was eminently so in this case. Cromwell, self-willed, resolute, and unscrupulous as he was, had been only too ready and able a tool in all his Grace's dark and questionable designs, and certainly deserved better and fairer treatment from his royal master. But the arm of God Almighty was not shortened; and punishment from on high, so well-deserved, was soon to fall upon him.

On the 10th of June, 1540, he was arrested by the Duke of Norfolk at the Council Chamber, when least expecting any such proceeding; and was at once committed to the Tower.

Cromwell exerted all his interest to prolong a life spent in crime. In prison his conduct was the very reverse of that of those noble victims of his shameful policy, who with uplifted hands prayed fervently to God for their persecutors. From his own lips came little else but curses and imprecations for his enemies.

"May God confound them all!" he exclaimed, with earnest vigour. "May the wrath of heaven fall on their heads! May the infernal devils annihilate them!"

But these, and such like curses, were of no avail. Cromwell's avowed enemies now sat at the Council Board; and only rejoiced over his despair and sufferings. It was in vain that he alternately wept and groaned, cursed and swore. His letters to the king, praying for mercy, were all unheeded.

Henry was too much engaged in love-making with Katherine Howard to regard the plaints of his once "trusty and rightly-beloved cousin," Cromwell. The king's highness was purposely silent. Events took their course.

From the Tower he wrote a second letter to the king, exonerating himself from the charge of high treason, and a third explaining his own conduct regarding the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves. To these, likewise, no reply was vouchsafed. Thus the measure which Cromwell had so cruelly served out to the monks, was now, in due course, about to be meted to himself.

His numerous enemies, for he had made many during his lifetime, saw clearly that if he were brought to the bar he might easily justify all his illegal and wicked actions by special orders and formal warrants from the king. So they resolved to prosecute him by attainder; for which purpose a special Bill was introduced into the House of Lords, and read a first time, on the 17th of June, and read for the second and third time two days afterwards. Then it was sent to the Commons. Here, however, for reasons variously stated, it stuck for some time; until shortly afterwards a fresh Bill, which duly passed the House of Commons, was sent up to the House of Lords, and became law. He was charged in it both with treason and heresy, and his death decreed.

Cromwell, in the course of his career, had secured great wealth through the plunder of the Church, the poor and the faithful departed. His were the spoils of consecrated sanctuaries, sacred chapels, and chantries where the dead had been remembered. No less than thirty separate monastic estates had been allotted to him. As Earl of Essex he had precedence in Parliament over every one but the king, where he introduced, either by himself or his creatures, the confiscatory and murdering laws—laws of tyranny and blood—which so disgraced the statute-book. He had been cruel, savage, and barbarous beyond precedent, to the religious of both sexes; for without the cruelty, determination, and violence of such a base instrument, it may be doubted whether such a so-called "Reformation" could have been effected at all.

But the day of vengeance was slowly drawing near. The desolated sanctuaries cried to heaven for Cromwell's due punishment. The woes and sorrows of outcast monks and nuns, wandering and weary, were not forgotten by an all-just and righteous God. "Vengeance is Mine: I will repay, saith the Lord." Within forty-eight days of the earl's arrest, he received his due reward.

As a popular writer truly remarks of him,—"Perhaps, of all the mean and dastardly wretches that ever died, this was the most mean and dastardly. He who had been the most insolent and

cruel of ruffians, when he had the power, was the most disgustingly slavish and base."

His time in prison does not appear to have been spent in acts of penitence and reparation, in asking mercy of Almighty God, but in praying the royal tyrant, whom he had served so well, to spare him. In fact, from the moment of his arrest, Cromwell seems to have been engrossed with the one thought of how he might best save his life. He addressed the king in several letters, protesting his innocence; fawning most loathsomely upon the tyrant; comparing his Majesty's frowns and smiles to those of God Almighty; and asking that he might once again "kiss the royal hand, so balmy, that the fragrance thereof might make him fit for heaven." "I, a most woeful prisoner," he wrote, "am ready to submit to death when it shall please God and your Majesty; and yet the frail flesh incites me to call to your Grace for mercy and pardon of mine offences." And again, "With the heavy heart and trembling hand of your Highness's most miserable prisoner and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell, I cry for mercy, most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy!"[4]

But, having done his master's work, he was no longer wanted, and was in the way; so these piteous and abject cries were all unheeded by the king; and he was deservedly left to his fate—the

[4] Cobbett's "History of the Reformation," p. 103. Dublin, 1868.

block. Never was fate more righteous or more appropriate. Willingly, officiously, and zealously he had done many sacrilegious and bloody deeds for his master: it was he who had aided to rend England from the rest of Western Christendom; it was he who had suggested to the king to condemn innocent people to death, without process or trial; just was it, therefore, that he should himself die as determined by the wicked tyrant, whom he had so subserviently and faithfully served.

On July 28th, 1540, he was brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill.

On that scaffold, feeling his loneliness, and overcome by misery without hope, he turned towards the heartless crowd, surging hither and thither, and thus addressed them,—

"I suffer death in expiation of my sins. The law has condemned me, and I confess that I have offended God and the king.[5] I declare that I die in the bosom of the Church, not doubting any article of the creed, nor rejecting any sacrament. I declare that I have never been an abettor of heresy. I may have been seduced; but I repent.

[5] "There are, moreover, other parties," wrote Richard Hilles, in a letter to Bullinger, "who assert, with what truth God knows, that Cromwell was threatened to be burnt at the stake, and not to die by the axe, unless, at the time of his execution, he would acknowledge his crimes against the king, and that he then said, 'I am altogether a miserable sinner.'"—"Zurich Letters," No. cv.

Pray to God for the king; pray for his son, the Prince Edward; and above all, Christian people, pray for me, a great sinner, about to die."

He laid his head on the block. At the executioner's second stroke it was severed from his body, and rolled on to the straw around, leaving a bloody track. So died this man. The crowd witnessed his end without sorrow or sympathy. Of his energy, vigour, and diplomatic skill, none can doubt. These, added to an utter want of high principle, and much rapacity and greed,[6] secured what the world calls his "success." On the other hand, his avarice and hypocrisy, together with his cringing servility to his tyrannical master, were dominated ever, and under all circumstances, by his utter contempt for everything which was just and honest. No man who has thus suffered, suffered more properly. The State of England was well rid of one who thoroughly deserved his fate.

No tear was shed at his death. They who

[6] Amongst the monastic properties, Cromwell secured for himself the Priory of St. Osyth in Essex, the Priory of Lewes in Sussex (including its cell at Melton Mowbray), Yarmouth, Modenham in Kent, the Priory of Mickleham in Sussex, and Launde Abbey in Leicestershire. Sir Richard Cromwell, his nephew, great-grandfather of Oliver Cromwell (as it is believed by some), received Hitchinbroke Nunnery, Ramsey and Sawtry Abbeys, St. Neot's Priory, Neath Abbey in Glamorganshire, and St. Helen's Convent in London.

stood round the scaffold reasonably rejoiced that such a human scourge had been thus removed. The one feeling which influenced the spectators of Lord Essex's death, in common, was like in kind to that which is produced when the foulest of murderers deservedly expiates his crimes on the gallows.

No. II.

KING HENRY VIII.
AT WOLF-HALL, IN WILTSHIRE,
MAY 19TH, 1536.

"The monarch who founded the Anglican Church was distinguished for his despotism, and the Parliament, which ought to have restrained him, was most shamefully degraded. What idea can we form of the liberty of a country, whose legislators and representatives debased themselves so far as to declare that any one obtaining a knowledge of the illicit amours of the queen is bound, under pain of high treason, to bring an accusation against her? What can we think of the liberty of a country in which the very men who ought to defend that liberty, cringe with so much baseness to the unruly passions of the monarch, that they are not ashamed, in order to flatter the jealousy of the sovereign to establish that any young female who should marry a king of England, should, under pain of high treason, be compelled before her marriage to reveal any stain there might be on her virtue? Such ignominious enactments are certainly a stronger proof of abject servility than the declaration of that same Parliament, establishing that the mere Will of the Monarch should have the force of Law."—"*European Civilization*," *Balmez, p.* 353, *3rd Edition, London,* 1861.

No. II.

KING HENRY VIII.
AT WOLF-HALL, IN WILTSHIRE,
MAY 19TH, 1536.

ABOUT five and a half miles south-west of the town of Hungerford, lies an ancient borough and market-town in Wiltshire—Great Bedwyn. Until the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed, this borough, under the influence of a local peer, returned two members to Parliament. Of old it was a place of some size and distinction. The name of the town, said to be derived from the Saxon, at once designates its situation upon an eminence, and indicates the fact that the soil of the land around and about is chalky.

Before the mission of St. Augustine, Great Bedwyn is reputed to have been a place of considerable extent and renown,—the chief city of Cissa, Viceroy of the district, one of the three sons of the Saxon Ælla, a noted war-king, who invaded

Britain A.D. 477, and after his conquests and triumphs assumed the title, dignity, or appellation of "Bretwalda," whatever that may mean. What is now known as Chisbury Castle, a remarkable earthwork of the period, stands about a mile distant from the north-east of the town. The mounds around the castle, indicating accurately the extent and importance of its ancient fortifications, cover an area of no less than fifteen acres. Within these, amongst other ruins, are those of an ancient chapel, long ago efficiently desecrated, and now in its state of dismal decay used as a barn.

Anciently there were at least seven churches at Great Bedwyn, and several religious houses of considerable extent, possessions, and importance. Now all the churches are gone, having, centuries ago, been razed to the ground, and their places know them no more. Of religious houses, there are only a few uncertain and doubtful remains —a broken niche, a pointed window or early English doorway, with here and there a well-carved piece of mullion or crocketed-canopy built into a wall. That alone which remains, the Parish Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a cruciform building of Norman and early English work, with a few unimportant additions of later times, is a sacred edifice of considerable interest and completeness. At the junction of the transepts with the nave, a solid and massive tower rises, of some

character and dignity, and certainly of good proportions.

Within the sacred building there are still several ancient memorials: the figure of a Knight Templar, without either name or heraldic device, however; an altar-stone, with its five crosses on the pavement; and a few engraved brasses, of which the inscriptions are lost. There is also a monument to Sir John Seymour, Knight, of Wolf-Hall, the father of Jane Seymour, who married King Henry VIII., and also the father of Edward Seymour, afterwards Duke of Somerset and "Protector."

The residence of the Seymours, a county family of esquires and knights, but of no higher rank, known as Wolf-Hall,[1] on the borders of the Forest of Savernake, is still, in part, standing. It is an ancient domestic residence, moderate in size, built of rough stone, with carved dressings, having small windows with broad mullions and quarries of figured glass, with many rectangular gables and dormer-windows up above, and a low southern porch. There are about it tokens both of antiquity and former grandeur—rich panels of carved oak, inside, with armorial bearings and quaint devices; cornices, adorned at intervals with pomegranates, the castle-and-phœnix (Jane Seymour's badge), the royal arms of England and

[1] I write this from notes of a visit made more than a quarter of a century ago. See Appendix, No. II.

France, and other symbols of departed pomp and power. Outside, the oaken barge-boards remain. Parts of the house, however, have been destroyed, and it is now used as a mere farm-residence.[2] It stands in what is still a beautiful, but secluded spot, surrounded by fine timber, oaks and beeches with outspreading limbs, elms and cedars hoar with antiquity, and luxuriously-grown underwood. The domain around, formerly a deer-park, is now partly arable land and partly pastures.

Here it was that King Henry VIII. and his retinue arrived on the evening of the 18th of May, 1536. Here it was that on the evening of the following day he heard the sound of a cannon, intimating that he was once again free to wed another wife, because the axe of the Tower had decapitated Anne Boleyn on the blood-stained green within its precincts. London is between sixty and seventy miles from the Wiltshire residence of the Seymours; but along the south-western road from the metropolis, at appointed

[2] The vicar of Great Bedwyn, the Rev. M. R. Edmeades, on August 20th, 1878, most obligingly wrote to me concerning Wolf-Hall as follows: "The house is entirely gone, but there is still a piece of building which is supposed to have been the laundry. There is also a large barn, in which a feast was held at the time of the wedding. It is quite on its last legs, having been propped up in every possible way. There is some brick-work along the ground-line, which is said not to be so old as the barn itself. It is not at all clear where the king's marriage actually took place."

intervals, men had been duly posted with injunctions to communicate, without a moment's delay, the news of that tragedy so soon as it was completed. A gun from the Tower of London told the dismal tale to the citizens, callous enough, in general, and indifferent. Another from St. James's Palace; and a third in turn more westward still, intimated what had happened to curious and expectant listeners at the palace of Richmond; and so on, until the news reached the anxious group at Wolf-Hall.

To understand rightly and adequately how public and royal affairs stood, prior to the events just briefly sketched, it is necessary to put on record what follows — melancholy and tragic enough in its character.

And, firstly, as regards Queen Katherine. For more than two years before her Majesty was called to her final rest at Kimbolton, she had resided at Bugden (or Buckden), passing her sad and sorrowful life, as a true Christian should, in much prayer, in bestowing large alms upon the poor and needy, and in painful abstinence. Her devotion, patience, and recollectedness were most edifying; and when not engaged in her special religious duties, she was often occupied with her ladies in working with her needle costly and beautiful vestments and hangings of embroidery for the decoration of the adjacent churches, and for the honour of God.

With true Christian sentiment, Queen Katherine wrote to forgive the king his great cruelty to her, his injustice, and his neglect.

"I forgive you myself," were the written words of this suffering lady on her death-bed at Kimbolton, "and I pray God to forgive you, likewise. I recommend to you our child, my three maids, and all my servants. Let the former be well provided in marriage, and let the latter have a year's wages in addition to what is due to them now."

On the receipt of this letter, as Nicholas Harpsfield testifies, the king burst into tears, and was for a considerable period sorely overcome. The king's mistress, however, Lady Pembroke, instead of putting on violet or black when the queen was buried at Peterborough, as Hall, the chronicler, informs us, "wore yellow for the mourning;" and, on being congratulated upon the death of her rival, promptly and maliciously replied, "I am not at all sorry that she is dead; but I *am* sorry because her death has been so honourable." Very different had been the feelings of the poor, injured lady then at rest, with regard to the shameless woman who had taken her place and dignity, and could thus speak of her. When one of Queen Katherine's gentlewomen began to curse the Lady Anne Boleyn, the queen quietly answered rebukingly, "Hold your peace! hold your peace! Curse her not, but rather pray for her; for the

time will soon come, methinks, when you will have great need to pity and lament her case!"

That time was not long in coming. Only five months after the good Queen Katherine had been buried in the Abbey of Peterborough, the wheel of change revolved again, and the dark day hinted at by her Majesty surely dawned.

When, therefore, King Henry VIII. had grown tired of Anne Boleyn, which does not appear to have been actually the case until he had seen and fallen in love with her maid of honour, Jane Seymour, his Grace found it necessary to call to his aid once again the practical services of Thomas Cranmer, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. That prelate, as he himself, more than once, put on record, was his Grace's "willing, obedient servant, and dutiful bedesman." He was needed again, therefore, to get the king out of a difficulty, and it will soon be seen how he accomplished his work.

Jane Seymour should be his Majesty's wife, as the king had resolved, and Anne Boleyn,[3] now that

[3] Archdeacon Harpsfield, in his "Treatise of Marriage," lib. iii. p. 60 (MS. of C. Eyston, Esq.), writes thus of Anne Boleyn: "This woman, which at such time as with her playing, singing, and dancing, she had best opportunity, never ceased (as the other dancing-damsel that craved St. John Baptist's head) to crave the good bishop's (Fisher) and Sir Thomas More's heads, which thing at length, to their immortal glory, she compassed. Ere the year turned about, to her perpetual shame and ignominy, she lost her head also, as did the aforesaid dancing-damsel."

the charges against her were asserted to have been abundantly proved, was soon to atone for past wickedness,[4] for cruelty to the king's lawful wife, Queen Katherine, and (if the charges against her were true) for other transgressions of the laws of God and man.

After she had been formally condemned, she thus, nevertheless, protested herself innocent :—

"My lords, I blame not your sentence. You know well enough why you have condemned me. I wish you no evil. May the good God above pardon you. But I declare to you that I am innocent of the crimes of which you accuse me. God, who knoweth all things, and can read my heart, knows that I have never betrayed my husband. This, my lords, I shall repeat on the scaffold ; not that I may escape death, for my imprisonment has served me well, in teaching me how to prepare for the same. But, as regards my poor brother,

[4] This woman is reported to have demanded of the executioner a sight of Bishop Fisher's head, before it was taken to London Bridge to be set up upon a pole. Of this characteristic act the Rev. J. H. Blunt thus writes : "We need not be too hard upon her ; she was a graceless woman, and her wantonness had brought her into brutal company. As she looked on her dead victim's face, she said contemptuously, 'Is this the head that so often exclaimed against me? I trust it shall never do more harm.' Then, to suit her action to her words, she cuffed the poor speechless lips with the back of her hand, but so hard that a projecting tooth hurt her finger, and caused a sore that did not soon heal."—"The Reformation of the Church of England," vol. i. p. 422. London, 1868.

and the other unfortunate persons, who are reputed to be my accomplices, I would gladly suffer a thousand deaths to save them; but, as the king wills that we are to suffer all together, I will accompany them to heaven, and there unite our prayers for his Majesty's salvation."

When she had ceased to speak, the President of the court, the Duke of Buckingham, ordered her to remove the tokens of royalty, which she had worn during her trial.

This she did at once, without retort and without a murmur.

She disrobed herself of her regal mantle, and handed it to her attendants; she also removed her royal coronet of jewels and pearls, and unclasped the necklace of rubies and diamonds from her bosom.

On this, the duke reminded her that it was likewise necessary for her to resign at once the title of Queen, Princess, and Marchioness, with which the king's Grace had vouchsafed to honour her.

To this injunction Anne Boleyn did not reply, but merely bowed, in token of acquiescence and respect; and then, after having saluted her judges, proceeded to retire from the court.

The Constable of the Tower, Lady Kingston, and Lady Rochford, conducted her forth, with due formality; and she was then taken, not to the apartment in which she had hitherto been confined, but to the prison appointed for her reception, until

the king should finally decide whether she was to be burnt at the stake or suffer death at the block.

But the difficulty which the king experienced, and of which he expected Archbishop Cranmer to become the means of removing, was the undoubted existence of the so-called "marriage bond," into which, in April, 1534, only two years previously, he had entered with the condemned criminal at the Tower,—a bond which Cranmer himself had been the means of binding, and which the king now enjoined him at once to unbind, revoke, and annul.

About two years previously this pliant archbishop, after having solemnly invoked the aid and co-operation of God the Holy Ghost, with the Gospel and the fear of God before his eyes, had, in his official capacity of Primate of all England, pronounced the marriage between Henry and Catharine null and void, and had formally enjoined Dr. Rowland Lee[5] to bestow the nuptial bene-

[5] Sander gives the following minute and detailed account of what actually took place: "The king sent for Rowland Lee, then a priest, and whom afterwards he made Bishop of Lichfield, and bade him say mass according to the Catholic and Roman rite. To him the king declared that at last sentence had been given in his favour in Rome, and that it was lawful for him to take another wife. Lee, considering that it was not usual for kings to tell a lie, was at first silent, but immediately afterwards his conscience smote him, and he said to the king, 'Your Majesty, I hope, has the Pontifical Brief." The king made a sign to that effect, and the priest turned to the altar. Again the priest, being in doubt, and afraid that he might be

diction of Holy Church upon Henry, the king, and Anne, his mistress, and had formally and authoritatively declared them to be "lawful man and wife." Now, by a change of circumstances, he was called upon by formal process to transform the king's "lawful wife" into a mistress. However, he who had previously judged Queen Katherine to have been incestuous, was now compelled by the Supreme Head to make Anne a mere concubine. To do Cranmer justice, however, he was ready and competent for the work, and was enabled, no doubt, with "the fear of God before his eyes"—as his well-known and oft-repeated expression ran—both to undertake and complete it.

The archbishop, therefore, at once summoned Henry and Anne to a court, to be held at Lambeth. They were each represented by proxy.

Dr. Richard Sampson appeared for the king, while the queen had for her counsellors Dr. Wootton and Dr. Barbour.

doing something that was wrong, said to the king, 'The sacred Canons require, and it is of the utmost concern to us, that the Papal Letters be read and published.' Thereupon the king asserted that he really had the Papal Brief, but that it was in a very secret place, where he only could find it. It was not seemly that he should then go for it himself, for it was not yet daylight. Rowland Lee made no further resistance; and, having said mass, gave to Henry a second wife, the first being not only still alive, but not even divorced from him by any decision pronounced in any ecclesiastical court, or anything of the kind whatsoever."—Sander's "History," translated by D. Lewis, 8vo, pp. 93, 94. London, 1877.

His Majesty pleaded, by affidavit, that, as he had previously cohabited with Mary Boleyn, sister of Anne, the marriage with the latter, according to God's law, was null and void. No one disputed the cohabitation, nor could have done so, as a loyal subject, in the teeth of the king's assertion. Cranmer, therefore, suddenly discovered the practical force of this fact, in admitting that it was by divine right a prohibitory impediment to his Highness's marriage with Anne. And so, having once again calmly invoked the sacred Name of Jesus Christ, according to his pious and impressive custom, and declared that what he was about to do was for the greater glory and honour of God—though he does not appear to have much liked doing it[6]—he solemnly pronounced the marriage contracted and consummated between Henry and Anne Boleyn four years previously to be utterly null and void; and, by consequence, directly and efficiently proclaimed their daughter Elizabeth to be illegitimate.[7]

[6] Archdeacon Todd, in his "Life of Cranmer," implies as much as is stated above when he writes as follows: "After two days more *the afflicted Archbishop was obliged* (?) *judicially to declare her marriage invalid and her offspring illegitimate.*"

[7] Henry Percy, subsequently Earl of Northumberland, was believed to have been betrothed to Anne Boleyn, and something was made of this supposed fact when Cranmer was called upon to divorce her from the king. But the following letter to Thomas Cromwell, from the Cottonian Collection (Otho. c. x.), in the handwriting of Percy, directly contradicting the existence

The result of this ecclesiastical process was communicated both to Convocation and to Parliament. The former, at least tacitly, acknowledged the sentence to be good and sound; the latter, relying on the superior theological knowledge of the spiritualty, were quite willing to follow them in their approval of the judgment.

Yet it is impossible not to note the glaring iniquity of Cranmer, and the inherent wickedness of these so-called "spiritual" proceedings.[8] The king's craft, likewise, was deep: his malice artful and great. Had the divorce been pronounced by Cranmer before Anne Boleyn's condemnation, she

of an engagement, is worthy of especial note:—"Mr. Secretary. This shall be to signify unto you, that I perceive by Sir Reynold Carnaby that there is supposed a Præ-Contract between the queen and me. Whereupon I was not only heretofore examined upon my oath before the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, but also received the Blessed Sacrament upon the same before the Duke of Norfolk and other the King's Highness' Council learned in the spiritual law; assuring you, Mr. Secretary, by the said oath, and Blessed Body which afore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contract or promise of marriage between her and me. At Newington-Green, the xiijth day of May, in the 28th year of the reign of Our Sovereign Lord King Henry the VIIIth. Your assured, NORTHUMBERLAND."

[8] Thus we see that, on the 15th of May, 1536, she was condemned as the *lawful wife* of the king; on the 17th of the same month she is declared *never to have been his wife at all*; and, two days afterwards, on the 19th, she is actually executed for *having been his unfaithful wife!!*

could never have been tried and condemned for adultery.

In fact the Archbishop, as the lawyers did not hesitate to maintain, had thus actually rendered himself amenable to the recent cruel statute which proscribed with death any deed committed against the king, queen, or their heirs. Witnesses at the recent trial had done the same. So that a new and special Act of Parliament had to be hastily drafted and passed at once, granting a full pardon to all who had inadvertently committed high treason in connexion with the recent trials. By this step numbers of Peers and Privy Councillors, in addition to the Archbishop, were adequately and efficiently sheltered from actual harm.

As to the last hours of the unhappy woman who had displaced Queen Katherine, and who was now herself "legally" displaced, it is known that Anne Boleyn made a confession to Cranmer, which he is said to have regarded as a full and conclusive proof of the invalidity of her marriage with the king.

It had been determined by her sovereign that she should die at the block, and not at the stake; and an expert headsman from Calais came to do the deed.

The scaffold, and its accustomed oak posts and railings to enclose it, brought out again from a groined under-crypt, was erected on the Tower Green, early on the morning of the 19th, soon

after sunrise; but few were in waiting for the tragedy, which was to be completed at noon. Bishop Shaxton, with four noblemen, at the king's express direction, came in due course, and were present at Anne Boleyn's death; the Duke of Richmond, her "ancient enemy," as she avowed, being amongst the number. She was led forth just at the hour of twelve of the clock at noon; the bell from St. Peter's turret tolling solemnly the while; and a few more persons mainly connected with the immediate locality were found to have been gathered in groups of twos and threes round the scaffold. The officers of the Tower were there, and the executioner in a black mask, with a sword instead of the usual axe. Some charitable women were near her in her last extremity, and gave their personal services. She knelt down in earnest prayer for some time, and, openly pleading for mercy because of the sins of a lifetime, commended her soul most earnestly to God. Placing her head on the block; at the appointed sign the sword was raised, it flashed in the sunshine and fell. And so the deed was done for which the king so anxiously looked, and because of which he held that he was free to marry again. At that moment the booming sound of a cannon was heard —fired from an elevated position on an adjacent battlement of the fortress; for which some soldiers were attentively listening in the Palace grounds of St. James's in the West.

No coffin, nothing but a rough and empty chest, in which arrows had been stowed away, was provided to receive the headless body of one who had worn the crown and been anointed as queen. "Bury her in haste, and at once," was the authoritative order for action. And this was done. Shaxton, sometime her chaplain, and a man much indebted to her for his preferment, is reported to have taken the liberty of insulting her remains, while they were still warm.[9] No priest was there, nor were there cross and tapers, or solemn psalm, or *Requiem æternam*, at her funeral. In the chancel-floor of St. Peter's Church adjoining, a grave had been hastily prepared, into which the chest and its contents were let down without prayer of hope or expression of regret. Within one hour after noon her grave had been filled up, the mould stamped in, and the masons were laying down the chancel-pavement, which had been temporarily disturbed; while some labourers' boys wheeled away the superfluous earth to a corner of the churchyard around.[1]

The firing of cannon from spot to spot, between London and the Seymours' country-house by the

[9] In a letter to Cromwell, dated May 23, 1536, this right reverend person wrote of Anne Boleyn, "She hath exceedingly deceived me. That vice that she was found in. The Lord have mercy on her soul!" MSS. Mus. Brit. Otho, C. X., folio 260.

[1] Notes and abstracts of MSS. in the Author's possession.

borders of Savernake Forest, took place as arranged. The king had been out hunting all day, in order to pass and while away the time; for he hourly expected the signal. On turning towards Wolf-Hall at sunset, he listened once again for a sound which he anxiously expected. The spot was lonely. The air was still. There was no breeze stirring. Suddenly there came across the park the distinct boom of a cannon. Thus it was known that Anne Boleyn, the supplanter of Queen Katherine, was dead and buried; and on the morrow, May 20th, the king would wed her for whose hand he had come,—Jane Seymour.

This lady was the daughter of a Wiltshire knight, whose monument remains in the church of Great Bedwyn. These Seymours[2] took an active part in the profitable work of "reforming." They were comparatively poor; and it brought much grist to their mill. Jane Seymour's marriage gave them considerable advantages, which they were not slow to make use of. Her brother, Edward Seymour, knighted for service in France in the year 1524, was created Viscount Beauchamp at his sister's marriage with the king, and Earl of Hertford some short time afterwards. From the Heralds' College he received an exemplification and augmentation of his arms, and soon afterwards had bestowed upon him the appointment of Lord

[2] See Appendix No. II., for "Notes on the Family of Seymour."

Chamberlain. Subsequently he was made Governor of Boulogne; and King Henry VIII. afterwards appointed him one of his Grace's executors. Under King Edward VI., in 1547, he was elevated to the dignity of Duke of Somerset.

Having attained to that position this nobleman notoriously took good care of himself. The records of later years bear strong testimony to the greed and rapacity of this upstart race. Under King Edward VI. Somerset became all-potent. From existing bishoprics he had already secured and handled a considerable amount of plunder, and from the confiscation of monastic property, still more. But he needed a London palace, which, built on the north side of the Thames, was called after him, "Somerset House." To acquire the necessary and convenient site for this mansion, he took from three bishops their town-houses, and made use of the materials of which they were built for his purpose. But these were wholly insufficient. So he pulled down a part of certain buildings appertaining to the old cathedral of St. Paul; the collegiate church of St. Martin-le-Grand, another a little more westward in Newgate Street, the church of St. John near Smithfield, and the parish church of St. Nicholas. In addition to the above, he likewise selected the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, which stands on the southern side of the old abbey of St. Peter; and it is on record

that the workmen had been actually sent to commence its destruction. This, however, as Dr. Heylyn the historian declares, did not suit the good and zealous people of the parish. "The workmen had no sooner advanced their scaffolds, when the parishioners gathered together in great multitudes, with bows and arrows, and staves and clubs, which so terrified the workmen that they ran away in great amazement, and never could be brought again upon that employment.

Lord Seymour, the Protector's brother, is said to have intrigued against him, and to have endeavoured to get possession of the person of the king, for which offence he was committed to the Tower. The charges against him were that he had endeavoured to marry the Princess Elizabeth [3] and to corrupt the king's servants; that he had attempted to raise forces, and had procured the coining of base money; had leagued with pirates, and intended to seize on the Isle of Lundy and the Scilly Isles. He was condemned without any hearing,—in accordance with recent laws, by which all liberty had been abolished, and the grossest and cruellest tyranny set up in its stead,—formally attainted and executed on March 20, 1549. His own brother the Protector, as well

[3] There is little doubt as to the truth of this charge; for the Depositions of Katherine Ashley, governess to the Princess Elizabeth, remain in the Public Record Office, and seem to warrant the charge.

as Archbishop Cranmer, signed his death-warrant, for which act they became singularly unpopular. King Edward VI., his young nephew, a cold-blooded creature, deeply tainted with Calvinism, enters a record of the fact in the written Journal which he kept, but without one syllable of natural feeling or a single word of regret.—"The Lord Sudeley, Admiral of England, was condemned to death and died in March ensuing."

The wedded life of Henry and Jane Seymour was of no long duration. On October 12, 1537, she gave birth at Hampton Court to a son, named Edward at his baptism, afterwards King Edward VI., just referred to. This queen is said to have made a good and Christian end. It may be gathered from a letter of Mr. Richard Gresham to Cromwell still in existence,[4] that the queen made her confession and duly received the last sacraments:—"Her confessor hath been with her grace this morning, and hath done that which to his office appertaineth: and even now is preparing to minister to her grace the Sacrament of Unction."

As to the exact circumstances of the queen's death, accounts differ considerably. Some assert that she died in childbirth; a death brought about largely, as was reported, by an ill-performed surgical operation. Others, entering more into detail,

[4] See Richard Gresham's Letter to Cromwell, "State Papers," I. 574.—MSS. Brit. Mus., Nero C. X.

maintain that when, under a certain difficulty and alternative, the question arose amongst the assembled physicians, whether the mother's life or the child's should be sacrificed, and it was duly put to the king; his Majesty remarked that the mother, for high state reasons, was to be sacrificed, and the son saved at every cost. In his highness's experience wives were abundant, heirs-male few. However, when his loss was adequately realized, the king is said to have lamented her premature death very deeply. Prior to this event, his use and wont was to make the tears of other people flow in abundance; not to shed any himself. Now, however, a great sorrow overtook him; and he is reported to have been "sorely and suddenly cast down,"—"shedding tears freely."

Well was it, perhaps, that this royal lady thus died in her bed. Hers was certainly an untimely end. There must surely have been a dark and ominous cloud hanging in the sky when she wedded the king at Tottenham. Neither the congratulations of Sir John Russell and Cromwell, both present on the occasion, nor the satisfaction of her parents, could have put aside doubtful but anxious thoughts as to actual dangers looming in the future. Had she lived longer, however, who knows to what the caprices of such a brutal husband might not have brought her? Perhaps the experienced executioner of Calais, who cut

off Anne Boleyn's head with a sword, might have been enjoined to make a second journey to Tower Hill, in the interests, and at the command, of "The Supreme Head."

No. III.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.

A.D. 1536—1537.

"The world has cycles in its course, when all
That once has been, is acted o'er again:—
Not by some fated law, which need appal
Our faith, or binds our deeds as with a chain;
But by men's separate sins, which blended still
The same bad round fulfil.

"Then fear ye not, though Gallio's scorn ye see,
And soft-clad nobles count you mad, true hearts!
These are the fig-tree's signs;—rough deeds must be,
Trials and crimes: so learn ye well your parts.
Once more to plow the earth it is decreed
And scatter wide the seed."

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

No. III.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.

A.D. 1536—1537.

With regard to the revolution which was effected under King Henry VIII., it is often asserted that so great were the actual and practical corruptions of the Church, that the people at large gladly welcomed the so-called "reforms," and cordially co-operated with those who planned and carried them out: while too many writers of history, by carefully manipulating disagreeable facts, by omitting any reference (save the slightest), to damaging truths; and by carefully misrepresenting the motives of certain of the actors in the Drama of Change, have succeeded in giving very inadequate, not to write erroneous, impressions of what actually took place in the frightful reign referred to.

Not only is it not true that the people approved of the reforms, but the distinct and direct opposite

of that statement is far nearer the truth. Political circumstances, both home and foreign, enabled those in power, by prompt and daring action, to complete what they had planned; the main body of the people were without a semblance of practical organization; the old peers of the realm had lost much of their ancient independence and power, crippled as their immediate ancestors had been by the Wars of the Roses, and did not stand forth as natural leaders of the people: while the new peers, or those who were labouring for the baron's coronet and robe, were ready to compass any deed of baseness, in order to attain that upon which they had evidently set their hearts. So that the kingdom, as well as the ancient liberties of the subject, lay practically at the mercy of these few but powerful "new men," who, having shown themselves able and willing to serve the king in his despotic and tyrannical policy, were raised to the highest dignities in reward for their services.

However, that the people were eminently adverse to change and innovation,—that is, many of the peers and nobility, and thousands of the middle and lower classes, is evident by the Risings in Lincolnshire and in the North and West of England.

Prior to the Lincolnshire Revolt, a person, who afterwards became prominent, John Hooper, sometime a Cistercian monk, who apostatized and

wandered for some years on the continent, attaching himself chiefly to the Genevan heretics, and to the false and novel system of Calvinism, wrote to Bullinger as follows of the state of religion in England :—" The impious mass, the most shameful celibacy of the clergy, the invocation of saints, auricular confession, superstitious abstinence from meats, and purgatory, *were never before held by the people in greater esteem than at the present moment*,"—a testimony at once unimpeachable and forcible as to the exceedingly small progress which Reform and Innovation had then made.

Before an account of the Pilgrimage of Grace is given, however, it will be necessary to make some reference to the general state of affairs at Court; so that their bearing on the policy of the king, and his Majesty's bearing toward the Ancient Faith and those who rose up to defend it, may be adequately comprehended.

After King Henry had resolved on marrying Jane Seymour, he determined to convoke a new Parliament.

This having been done, he opened the session in person, with all the accustomed formalities, and made a set speech to the assembled Lords and Commons. Having been so very unfortunate in his two first marriages, he stated in the course of the speech his intention of at once taking to himself another wife, " for the special benefit of his well-beloved subjects."

The Speaker, on behalf of the House of Commons, as he asserted, received this unexpected information with the deepest thankfulness. Such an act commended itself to all his Grace's obedient and dutiful people, and the king, the murderer of the saintly More and the pious Fisher, was openly congratulated on the numerous moral, intellectual, and physical gifts, with which it had pleased Providence so abundantly to endow him. His Majesty, in the Speaker's opinion, was equal to Samson in prowess, to King Solomon in wisdom, and to Absolom in beauty and gracefulness. In fine and in fact the king, judged by this officer's benevolent opinion, was without a peer.

In reply to this flattery, his Majesty is reported to have made a modest and proper response; remarking, however, that if such graces were his, they had been bestowed upon him by Almighty God, and that the glory of them was due to God alone.

The Lord Chancellor, Audley, then openly complimented him on being about to marry Jane Seymour. "Her convenient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood," he asserted, gave good and reasonable hope of numerous heirs to his Majesty. Might it so turn out was the wish and prayer of the peers.

It was this Parliament, assembled on the 8th of January, 1536, which so readily cringed and crawled before the Supreme Head. One of its

first acts was to formally sanction and ratify his divorce from Anne Boleyn. This personage and her accomplices were to be branded with enduring infamy; while the daughter of Queen Katherine, as well as Elizabeth, the infant offspring of Anne, were each declared to be illegitimate.

The throne of England was moreover secured to the children of Jane Seymour, if she should give birth to any; or if not, to those of any other woman whom the king might hereafter wed. If his Majesty died without issue, Parliament duly authorized him to dispose of the crown according to his own free will and royal pleasure, either by letters patent under the great seal, or by a testamentary disposition.

Thus, by this extraordinary and illogical proceeding, Parliament then enabled the king to give the crown to either or both of those who had, at the same time, been solemnly declared to be bastards.

The comments of several persons of influence, who stood in the background, upon these and similar proceedings, were neither pointless nor undeserved. Many had the courage to speak out plainly, and to say what they truly thought. Others who were unprepared to speak for fear of consequences, thought the more; and pondered constantly on the wrongs of the people, brought about and bolstered up by a too subservient Parliament.

But when it was resolved to expand and in-

crease the penal code of the kingdom, which had been steadily enlarged throughout the reign of Henry VII.; when, in addition to the remarkable changes already made, new and still greater changes were in actual contemplation, by which tyranny could do its work better and more promptly, and true freedom or ordinary liberty be largely circumscribed, the people of the North counties rose in rebellion.

As the last straw breaks the camel's back, so did the latest statute passed at this period lead to the influential rising in question.

What, then, it may be asked, was the point of the statute? Its terms expressly set forth that it was (1) an act of high treason (meriting the cruellest and most ignominious of deaths), to say, print, or publish a single word against the king or his heirs; (2) to attempt to evade or defeat any acts or processes which the king might think well to adopt, in consequence or because of the new Act; (3) to call in question the legality of the new marriage with Jane Seymour, or any other which the king might think fit to contract in the future; (4) to maintain, either by word of mouth or by written deed the validity of his two first marriages, with Queen Katherine and with Anne Boleyn, or to acknowledge Mary and Elizabeth, or either of them, as legitimate; (5) to refuse (no matter under what pretext) to reply on oath to any questions which might be put to any sub-

ject relative to the clauses, sentences, or single words of the statute itself; (6) to refuse the oath of obedience to the Act; or (7) to marry, without the king's consent, any princess allied to the crown by the first degree of affinity.

The practical policy embodied in this unprecedented Act was one which the thoughtful and far-seeing contemplated with positive dismay. Its tyranny was marked and manifest. In fact, by its provisions all law and justice lay absolutely at the feet of a single man, when, as had been then decreed, "the king's proclamation should be of the same force as Acts of Parliament"—and that man, one with whom, as Experience had but too plainly shown, Law was a mockery, on whom the name of Justice was a libel, and to whom the quality of Mercy was absolutely unknown. In truth, under this enactment, no man's life or property was safe for a day. The old and famous Act passed under King Edward III., for the security of Englishmen of all classes against unjust and unfounded charges of high treason, was thus completely set aside; so that any offence, which had never hitherto been criminal at all was by it made high treason.

The noblest and the most virtuous suffered. For the king—knowing himself only too well—stood in special and particular dread of such. Sparing neither age nor sex, it was soon afterwards found that no less than sixty thousand

persons were imprisoned on charges of the various kinds and natures specified in the Act; for the king could thus readily effect anything, without arraignment and without trial; his arbitrary will alone being practically law. The natural leaders of the people, the peers, either corrupted by bribes or awed into inactivity, were both unwilling and impotent to provide a remedy; until at length the people themselves rose to demand their ancient rights and common justice, and to rid themselves by personal action of the cowardly and cruel instruments of the king's increasing malice and tyranny.

Under the cloak of "banishing superstition," as Sander so forcibly pointed out, about which "superstition" the canting fanatics had been prating so long, nothing else was intended than stealing the sacred vessels of precious metal, the jewelled crucifixes, the chalices sparkling with gems, which held the Blood of Christ; together with all other sacred pictures, images, and ornaments, by which the churches were adorned.

Another and most unpopular course of cruel legislation caused the gravest and most sincere dissatisfaction. The Acts of King Henry's reign against beggars were no doubt, in the first instance, directed against those monks, lay-brothers, and numerous monastic servants who, through the suppression of the religious houses, would soon become dependent on the alms of the faithful.

Some writers maintain that these Acts of Parliament were drawn by the king's own hand. However this may have been, one was passed in 1531, while the second became law exactly five years later.

In these all justices of the peace and mayors were strongly enjoined to make diligent search and inquiry for all aged poor and impotent persons, who lived, or of necessity were compelled to live, by the alms and charity of the people. All such persons were to be formally licensed to beg in particular districts; but, if found begging in any localities in which they were not licensed, they were to be summarily punished by imprisonment in the stocks for two days and two nights, with no food but bread and water. If anybody was found begging without a licence, he was to be stripped to the waist and well whipped in public through the streets of the nearest town. Or if he was too old and decrepid to receive such treatment, he was, in lieu thereof, to be set up in the stocks for three days and three nights. This was for the weak and aged.

"Sturdy" beggars—that is, those who were able to work, but preferred living on alms, were to receive something even less comfortable. Any such beggar so found was to be brought before a justice or mayor, and by him, on conviction (as the Act expressly enjoins) to be taken "to the next market town or other place, and there to be tied to the end of a cart, naked, and to be beaten

with whips throughout the same town, till his body be bloody by reason of such whipping." This process was to be repeated from time to time, until the sufferer got his own living by labour. Many of the outcast monks, no doubt, shuddered as they realized what such provisions might entail on them.

The later Act of Parliament on this subject of beggars was specially directed against a superior kind of offender. If any of these beggars were found to be scholars of either of the Universities, shipwrecked sailors, vendors of pardons, licences, or dispensations, quack doctors, fortune-tellers, or idle monks, a whipping was to be administered upon two days in succession ; and if they offended again they were to receive two days' whipping at once, and to be put into the pillory from nine to noon on the second day, and, when taken out, to have one of their ears cut off. If they offended the third time, this punishment of the rod and pillory was to be repeated, and then the other ear was to be cut off likewise.

Lastly, if the mutilated wretch, whether unable to obtain work or not, was found begging again, he was "to suffer the pains and penalty and execution of death, as a felon and as an enemy of the Commonwealth."

Of course, a man turned out of house and home, who had been publicly flogged, and on the back and sides of whose head there would remain

unmistakable marks of his punishment, would not be very likely to obtain employment. Yet he must live somehow, and without food he would soon die. For the crime of mendicancy, therefore, for trying to keep body and soul together, he must suffer death by law. No wonder that, when a leader was found to head the exasperated populace, thousands soon came forward to demand the repeal of such cruel and iniquitous laws.

Consequent on such outrageous legislation, this movement, therefore, known as "The Pilgrimage of Grace," commenced at the important market-town of Louth in Lincolnshire, on Monday, October 2, 1536. The minds of the people thereabouts having been deeply stirred by the events of the past three years, more especially by the suppression of the religious houses, they resolved to resent, and to oppose by force, the labours of Thomas Cromwell's monastic inquisitors, who had sent due and formal notice of their advent.

The Church of St. James, then, as now, was one of the most remarkable and beautiful in that county. It consists of nave, transepts, aisles, and chancel, with eastern chapels and a fine baptistry. At the western extremity is a lofty and well-proportioned tower and spire,—the latter of which had only been completed twenty years previously, in the year 1516, and is no less than two hundred and eighty feet high. The tower is turreted at the angles, and there are flying buttresses and richly-

carved crockets of stone, of much grace and beauty to give completeness to the work.

The interior of this church, in olden times, like all our chief English sanctuaries, was rich with imagery, pictures, and tabernacles, from which representations of the saints and servants of God in marble and alabaster preached silently to the assembled worshippers. Under the chancel arch was a magnificent rood-screen, gilded and coloured in vermilion and blue, on which, raised high above the worshippers, and facing westwards, stood the large crucifix with Mary and John, as at Calvary, on either side; with twinkling lamps burning there, as well as before every picture and group of sacred figures, in dim chapel and distant chantry, as well as in the mysterious gloom of the deep and lofty choir. In the seven-light east window was a beautiful representation of the Incarnation—the Rose of Sharon and the Lily of Israel—with the nine orders of the heavenly hierarchy in symbolic panoply, gleaming and glittering in the October sunshine, around and about.

After solemn vespers on the previous day, the silver processional cross of this Church of St. James was borne forth to the market-place from its sacred walls. A priest in cassock and rochet carried it, and here followed him a crowd who sang that grand and inspiriting psalm, "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered;" and then every one, solemnly signing himself with the cross,

vowed to his neighbour to stand forth in defence of the rights and independence of the Church of God. Action was first taken by some of the religious who had been turned out of house and home. They spoke to the people plainly, roughly, and forcibly, but with singular eloquence and certain truth. Men came in to their aid in bands of twenty or thirty, armed but bearing ecclesiastical emblems; and only to remedy by energy and force the increasing evils which were sweeping like a flood over the land.

The revolt of these noble and unselfish men was wholly religious. Deeply and truly attached to the faith of their forefathers, they had long seen with dread and dismay the spirit of innovation riding rampant over their ancient and long-recognized rights—a spirit guided by men, who, like Cromwell, Rich, and Russell, from the lowest ranks had been elevated to a seat at the Royal Council Board, or other important dignities. In the chair of St. Augustine and St. Thomas sat a perjurer,[1] a married prelate, who had first wedded

[1] Before his consecration as archbishop he was obliged to swear obedience to the Holy See, with his hand on the Book of the Gospels, and calling upon God and His Holy Saints to witness what he did. He was also compelled to promise obedience to the Pope and his successors, and to preserve chastity. Perjured before taking this Oath, which he did duly and in public; he had gone previously into St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster, accompanied by a Notary, and there protested that the oath he was about to take, he had no intention what-

a bar-maid,[2] and subsequently taken to himself a second wife, the niece of Osiander, a German heretic. The execution of the ex-Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, and of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, had excited the most painful emotions amongst all classes—upon whom fear lay heavily.

Everywhere dissatisfaction was rampant at the wicked spoliation of the houses of religion, save amongst those who were handling their spoils. The present ruin and desolation of these houses of prayer contrasted markedly with their former beauty and value.

The English peasant had been duly taught to revere those sacred sanctuaries. There every morning the bell for mass had rung out over wold and valley. From tower and turret sounded the well-known chime which reminded the faithful of the fact of the Incarnation, and of its daily thrice-said Memorial.[3] For the peasant the religious house was his inn when travelling; his hospital when stricken down with sickness; his place of retirement and rest when he had fallen into indi-

soever of regarding, if it should stand in the way of the work marked out for him by the king his master; a position and policy which none of his numerous admiring biographers have been able to defend.

[2] In 1511, Thomas Cranmer, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, married Jacqueline the Black, a servant or barmaid of the "Dolphin Inn," for which act he was compelled to quit his college, as the archives of that society plainly testify.

[3] I. e. the Angelus.

gence or grown grey in the sweat of his brow. Under temporal as well as spiritual difficulties the English labourer had recourse to the Fathers and Brothers of the House ; and to such, who remembered the pledge that even the cup of cold water given in their Master's Name should not lose its reward, he seldom turned in vain.

But it was not the peasants only who owned a grievance at once just and righteous. The landlords, as former patrons of the dissolved and destroyed monasteries, complained reasonably enough of having been deprived of certain reversions distinctly reserved by the original charters of their foundations ; maintaining that the lands and messuages of suppressed communities and corporations ought not to have been forfeited to the crown, and distributed amongst the "new men" and "social upstarts," as a reward for their political subserviency; but, in accordance with law, custom, and common justice, should have been duly and faithfully returned to the living representatives of the original donors.[4] So that numbers of persons, protectors and heirs of the establish-

[4] "According to the most ancient laws of the kingdom, whatever possessions or revenues were conferred on the Church or a religious house, under terms and conditions, or for a certain or determined use, if the receiver neglected to observe, profit or execute, the use, cause, condition, or terms of the primary donation, then the collators or their heirs by reason of such defect or failure, might re-enter and possess the said lands and revenues."—"Kennett on Appropriations," p. 114.

ments, through the spoliation and secularization of monasteries, had been illegally and unjustly deprived of their just rights and ancient privileges.[5]

When, therefore, Dr. Thomas Lee,[6] one of the king's commissioners, with his servants and attendants, appeared at Louth on the morning of Monday, October 3, 1536, he was received with shouts of execration by a band of clergy and laity, and by the ringing of an alarum bell, which soon gathered together the determined men of yesterday into a compact and considerable mass. Had tried and trusted leaders stood forth from the upper ranks of Englishmen,—men of blood and repute, of fair fame, true nobility of character, and military experience,—this rising might have cost the Su-

[5] "Holy theologians do not merely affirm that resistance is lawful; but still further that all persons, whether lay or clerical, may take up arms to avert the evil; that both Secular and Ecclesiastical property may and ought to contribute to the defence."—From the "Catalonian Address to Philip the Great of Spain," A.D., 1640.

[6] Of Dr. Thomas Lee the following character was given by his fellow-Inquisitor, John Ap Rice: "In going he is too insolent and pompatique. . . . he handleth the fathers where he cometh very roughly, and many times for small causes. . . . . The man is young, and of intolerable elation of mind. . . Sir, surely religious men were never so afraid of Dr. Allen, as they be of him, he useth such rough fashion with them. He hath twelve men waiting on him in a livery, beside his own brother, which must be rewarded specially beside his other servants."—"Sir Henry Ellis's Original Letters," iii. 2. 356.

preme Head both his throne and his new and unprecedented supremacy.

For no less than twenty thousand malcontents had already assembled, who hung on the lips of certain eloquent speakers stirring up the populace to revolt and resistance.

All voluntarily and formally swore fidelity to God, the king, and the state. In taking up arms they did so, as they asserted, only to obtain redress for certain grave grievances, recently grown unbearable, which they enumerated in a formal Petition or Address to the king.

The Oath of the Pilgrims of Grace ran thus: "I swear that I enter the Confraternity of the Pilgrimage for the purpose of serving God, of defending the king and his children, of reforming the nobility, and of delivering the king from his evil counsellors. I promise not to seek my private advancement in public calamity; to wrong no one, nor voluntarily to slay any of my brethren. Under the sign of the Cross of Christ, I will labour for the preservation of the Faith, for the re-establishment of the Church, and for the extirpation of heresy."

In the Petition or Address to the king they laid great stress on the condition of the poor, then daily growing worse, who were left without aid, deprived of former charity at the gates of the monasteries, and abandoned to starve and die on the common highways. The force of their argu-

ments in this remarkable document was considerable, and it was not without influence on thousands who, though not prepared to act, were quite prepared to sympathize.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, who had been promptly sent down from London to Lincolnshire, to give a true account of the nature and extent of the rising, seems to have been greatly impressed with the earnestness and influence of its leaders and supporters. He wrote at once to Cromwell, stating that in every place at which he had rested, from the city of London to Louth,[7] all the people, old and young, rich and poor, without any exception, were heard wishing it God-speed. "The Lord bless them," "Our Lady aid them," "God be over them," were the expressed aspirations of all. "No voice for the king's grace," Sir William reported, "was heard at all.

The commissioners who had been sent to seize further spoils of the religious houses, had, it appears, wisely taken themselves off "with all convenient speed;" having been threatened with summary punishment if they proceeded to execute their commission.

In the king's Reply to the Address from Lin-

[7] It is said that a Windsor butcher was summarily hanged as a rebel, merely because he remarked in the course of his trade that he would rather give a joint of meat to "those good fellows in the North," than sell it at all at the price offered for it by some casual customer.

colnshire, his Majesty gave abundant evidence that he felt the force of the statements and arguments contained in it. For, as may be read in the State Papers, he rated those who had drawn it up in the strongest terms :—

"How presumptuous are you, ye rude commons of one shire,—and that one of the most brutal and beastly of the whole kingdom,—thus to find fault with your prince for the electing of his councillors and prelates ; and to take upon you, contrary to the law of God, as well as to the law of man, to rule your prince whom you are bound to serve, with both your lives, lands, and goods!" "Has it ever been heard of before," the king asked furthermore, "that a vile populace should prescribe to a king the choice of his ministers? If he has suppressed the monasteries, was it not by virtue of a legislative act? What sort of men were the majority of the abbots and priors who had been expelled from the monasteries? Why, men covered with crimes. Perhaps, in the opinion of the Lincolnshire rebels, it would have been better to have left the debauched and hypocritical monks to devour the revenues of their communities, than to allow the king to employ them in the endowment of useful establishments."

On the same day his Majesty is reported to have observed to one of his secretaries, Thomas Wriothesley, that he "would rather sell all his plate than that these traitors should not be forcibly

put down as an example to others." In fact, it is said that Cromwell received orders to go to the treasury of the Tower, and taking from it whatever plate might be needed, to send such off to the Mint, so that it might be immediately coined for the express purpose of paying soldiers to put down the rebellion.

To the Duke of Suffolk, his Majesty's brother-in-law, the king had given a commission to stem the tide of the revolt. This nobleman, whose whole life had been one scene of shameful profligacy and wild extravagance, and who is reported to have been so ignorant that he could scarcely write his name, received as his share of the monastic spoils no less than thirty religious houses, with their manors, lands, and appurtenances. He was, therefore, a most fitting and suitable person to take in hand the present work of putting down by force those who objected to Church robbery: and the last amongst the noble receivers of stolen goods who would have been likely to have voluntarily disgorged any of his spoils.

The first act done by him on reaching Lincolnshire was an endeavour, by word of mouth, to induce the Pilgrims of Grace to lay down their arms, and throw themselves on the clemency of the king. Of his Majesty, and his kindness of heart, the Duke said nothing but words of exaggerated laudation. King Henry was a monarch who would deal with them mercifully and as a

good father. Let the rebels only promptly repent of their wicked action, give up the persons of those who had originated the rebellion, and they should all surely know by experience of what kind was his Majesty's clemency.

But this was a line of policy too transparently shallow to take in those before whom it was presented. The people of Lincolnshire who had become Pilgrims of Grace, had no more confidence in the king's kindness and clemency than they had in his word or good faith.

Religious, bearing banners on which were depicted representations of the Five Sacred Wounds on our Lord's Crucified Body, traversed the ranks of the rebels, and urged them by enthusiastic exhortations to a deeper and more earnest resistance. What had already been effected by the king and his minions, in the way of religious change and revolution was set forth in thrilling words and powerful descriptions. The people, therefore, were exhorted to further acts of bravery, but more especially to constancy and perseverance. Coming changes were likewise indicated or shadowed forth. Reports of what was in contemplation by the Court innovators in London, had reached many parts of the country—the Lincolnshire wolds amongst others.

"You will see," the leaders of the Pilgrimage maintained,—and urged on the consideration of the excited populace,—"that the time will shortly

come when you will neither be able to receive the sacraments nor marry without the king's consent. His Majesty will tax every slice of beef you eat; every christening, wedding, and burial; and will destroy two-thirds of your churches.[8] There will soon be no single monastery left in the whole country. Moreover, if the bishops consent to be put under the king and his new vicar-general, they must do as the king bids them. They are thus no longer servants of Christ their Master, but slaves of his Highness. Our cause is a noble one, therefore; the cause of things eternal before things temporal, the cause of the faithful departed, of the saints and of God."

The want of leaders who were at once competent and discreet, was soon felt. So that, notwithstanding all that was done, and all the terror which was struck into the minds of the king's immediate friends and allies by the bold action taken, the rebellion —as Heneage, one of the sacred commissioners, wrote,—had worn itself out in about a fortnight.

Dispirited and disheartened, having neither calculated their opponents' power, nor their own necessities, the leaders were obliged to succumb and their followers to retire. All this was good

[8] No two churches were to be left standing within five miles of each other in any county. All such edifices nearer together than this were to be destroyed. Such a scheme, in a county like Lincolnshire, would have been a devastation too awful for contemplation.—See "State Papers," vol. i. 482.

news to the Court, the chief members of which heard it with satisfaction and rejoicing.

Within the same month, however, (October, 1536), another insurrection, and this of a far more serious and formidable character, broke out in Yorkshire. The Lincolnshire precedent, though an avowed failure, was soon followed. In Yorkshire, the yeomen, accustomed to the use of arms, were courageous, full of zeal, and patient. The frightful misery of the people in general, and specially of the poverty-stricken clergy, and of those religious who had been turned out of their houses without means of sustenance, acted as a powerful incentive to this new revolt. When the insurrection spread from the borders of Scotland to the banks of the Humber, as was the case in a few weeks, there seemed some chance of eventual success. Moreover, if hard pressed, the Pilgrims could easily retire over the border, where the Scotch—keenly remembering their defeat at Flodden Field—would be sure to welcome them and give them aid.

The leader of this "Pilgrimage," or religious crusade, as in truth it was, was an esquire of Aughton near Howden, named Robert Aske,[9] who, according to the most reliable chroniclers, was possessed in a remarkable degree of those valuable qualities best calculated to guide the populace appealed to —coolness and courage. He was in perfect har-

[9] See Appendix No. III.

mony and accord with the clergy and religious laity. And the whole movement was marked by a complete absence of selfishness on the part of its promoters, and by the active presence and energy of the highest type of loyalty—loyalty to God's revealed Truth. The oath that was taken as a religious bond of union, was identical in principle with that which in Lincolnshire had been drawn up and accepted, and was taken by numbers.

The northern gentry and several of the nobility flocked to the standard of Aske, on reading the following Proclamation, which was carried far and wide by special messengers throughout their various counties :—

"Masters! All men to be ready to-morrow; and this night and in the morning to ring your bells in every town, and to assemble yourselves upon Skipwith Moor, and there appoint your captains, Master Hussey, Master Bapthorpe, and Master Gascoygne and other gentlemen. And to give warning to all beyond the water to be ready, upon pain of death, for the Commonwealth. And make your Proclamation every man to be true to the king's issue and the noble blood; to preserve the Church of God from spoiling, and to be true to the commons and the wealths. And ye shall have to-morrow the Articles and the causes of your assembly and petition to the king."

There came to the unfurled standard—which

bore a representation of our Blessed Saviour on the cross, with His five sacred wounds, and a chalice and host—Sir Robert Constable and Sir Christopher Danby, a crowd of knights, esquires, and gentlemen, as well as several peers, and some thousands of yeomen and peasants.

Special summonses to come and co-operate, not wanting in solemn and ominous threats, were despatched to particular persons, to people of influence, and to places where sympathy was presumed actively to exist :—"We command each and all of you," were the terms of one such summons, sent out by the leaders of the Pilgrimage, "as you hope to appear before the Supreme Judge at the Last Great Day, to assemble at Stoke Green, near Hawkeshead[1] Church, on Saturday next, at eleven of the clock, in the best possible accoutrement, under pain of seeing your houses razed, your goods destroyed, and yourselves punished corporally, according to the will of our chiefs."

Where there appeared to be a disposition to oppose the Pilgrims by force, their opponents, whether of hamlet, town, or castle, were summoned

[1] Hawkeshead is a parish in the County Palatine of Lancaster, near to Furness Abbey. In olden times the place was governed by a bailiff appointed by the abbot of that house, for the time being; and who administered justice to the people of the town and district. The church was founded at the Conquest; but since then has been much altered and mutilated.

to surrender. Such a bold and determined policy produced adequate results.

Day by day the supporters of the Pilgrimage advanced in numbers and increased in influence. The religious instinct dominated all. Persecuted and outcast monks were amongst the assembled people, urging them forward, with forcible exhortations, passionate appeals, and most earnest words. When opposed by the king's troops, the leaders of the pilgrims, drawing the sacred sign on forehead, lips, and breast, first threw themselves on their knees, supplicating the aid of heaven, ere they went forth under the protection of the glistening banner of the Redeemer to maintain His cause. They sang the well-known and inspiriting psalm, "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered," again and again. There was religious zeal and ecclesiastical enthusiasm, and there were many deeds of martial prowess and knightly worth, done by the "Servants of the Five Wounds." In many places they met neither with obstacles nor resistance, and therein traced the finger and favour of the Most High. Pontefract, where Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, and Lord Darcy had taken refuge, threw open its gates to Aske at the demand of the populace of the town; and the two notable personages in question found it expedient to take the oath of fidelity to the leaders of the Pilgrimage.

Some remarkable successes were obtained by the Pilgrims. Had their leaders been men of

greater military tact and experience, still more remarkable gains might have been secured. Both York and Hull, the two most important centres of life and influence in Yorkshire, having acknowledged the banner of these Crusaders, and the righteousness of their demands, opened their gates, and welcomed them as friends and allies. Skipton Castle, defended by the Earl of Cumberland, however, received them at the cannon's mouth; while Sir Ralph Ewers, the Governor of Scarborough Castle, for more than twenty days valiantly defended that place on behalf of the king, though the garrison suffered sorely from the want of bread and water, and still refused to capitulate.

The forces of the Pilgrims passed beyond the Tees to Durham and Westmoreland; their agents and allies carried their heart-stirring proclamations westward into Lancashire, and as far south as the town of Doncaster, in most of which parts they were welcomed with hearty and enthusiastic acclamations.

The Earl of Shrewsbury, Lieutenant-General of the Northern District, although without any express commission to do so, made an attempt to defend Doncaster, into which he threw himself with such of his retainers and followers as he could hastily gather. He was shortly joined there by the Marquis of Exeter, the Earls of Derby, Rutland, and Huntingdon, and subsequently by the Duke of Norfolk, who, in combination com-

manded nearly five thousand soldiers. But what could such a force attempt against an army of fifty thousand rebels?

The Duke of Norfolk, no inexperienced leader, after due consideration, held it prudent not to risk an engagement; for had his Grace been defeated, as Common Report told the authorities, there would certainly have been a general rising throughout the land. So he opened negotiations with the insurgents; having first discreetly placed his troops in a safe and satisfactory position, and prepared a battery of artillery, so as to avoid any surprise. Orders from the court had been sought for by him, but not yet received. He knew the king's anxiety and fear,—for some about his person had noted that he contemplated, or seemed to contemplate, a return to the old ecclesiastical state of affairs.[2] Seeing, therefore, the danger of his position, he found it expedient to treat with the rebels by Lancaster Herald, an authorized officer-at-arms.[3]

This official was received by Aske in the midst of a kind of extemporized court, the Archbishop of York, Edward Lee, on the one hand, and Lord

[2] From a sermon preached by Gardiner, in Queen Mary's reign, it appears almost certain that, during these rebellions, Henry was so thoroughly alarmed that he entertained serious thoughts of restoring the ancient visible intercommunion with the See of Rome.

[3] This unfortunate personage was executed, after a display of savage wrath by the king, because he had done exactly what his office enjoined him to do.

Darcy on the other. As to the Proclamation, Aske at once firmly and respectfully declined to obey it. His people gathered around him, he asserted, knew exactly what they wanted, were all of one accord, and thoroughly united in their demands; they resolved either to effect a speedy reformation and change from what now was, or else to die in the good cause, for which they had bonded themselves together. He furthermore expressed his readiness to go in person to the king's Court at London, and there to see that all the vile blood of his Majesty's Council, meaning of course Cromwell, Rich, and others, were put away from him, and all men of old and noble blood, as heretofore, set up once again. Also that the True Faith of Christ and His Laws should be kept and taught by the bishops and clergy as aforetime,[4] and

[4] In the Northern rising, specific complaints were laid against William Barlow, Bishop of St. David's (afterwards the consecrator of Matthew Parker), for having, amongst other statements, "affirmed and said, that wheresoever two or three simple persons, as two cobblers or two weavers, were in company, and elected in the Name of God, there was the true Church of God." They also complained that the bishop had taught that it was not expedient for man to confess himself, but only unto God; for He will at all times accept and take any penitent man or woman to His mercy, if he cannot expediently have a priest. *Item*, that there neither is nor was any purgatory; but it is only a thing invented and imagined by the Bishop of Rome and our priests to have trentals and other mundane lucre thereby. *Item*, that if the king's Grace, being Supreme Head of the Church of England, did choose, denominate, and

full restitution made for all the manifold wrongs recently done to Christ's Holy Church, and also that the Christian people of the land should be properly treated with justice and judgment as of old.[5]

The demands of the Pilgrims by the mouth of Aske, their high-principled leader, were formally put into writing,[5] and divided into technical "Articles," as they were termed, which, on being presented to the Herald, were at once taken by him to the king himself.[6]

The Duke of Norfolk went up to London, with the avowed object of intending actively to support the prayer of the Petition, with which the Articles

elect any layman (being learned) to be a bishop; that he, so chosen (without mention made of any orders), should be as good a bishop as he is, or the best in England,"—propositions which were certainly novel, heretical and dangerous, and reasonably objected to by those who had been taught the contrary from their childhood, and whose "ancestors had never known such innovations."

[5] "State Papers," i. 486.

[6] The people of Devonshire likewise, at a later period, complained of the changes in religion, and as Dr. Heylyn the historian writes, asserted truly enough that the free-born commonalty was oppressed by a small number of gentry, who "glutted themselves with pleasures, while the poor commons wasted themselves by daily labour, like pack-horses, and lived in extreme slavery; and that holy rites established by their fathers were abolished, and a new form of religion obtruded. And they demanded that the mass and a part of the monasteries should be restored, and that the clergy should not be allowed to marry."

concluded, to which he indirectly pledged himself, but more probably to gain time for gathering larger and more efficient forces.

His Grace the Duke, having there received full authority from the king to treat with the rebels, on his return to the North, at once announced his readiness to grant a general pardon to each and all, save and except to ten persons, six of whose names were there and then mentioned by him, and four more in addition the king would subsequently select.

Aske and his allies at once rejected the conditions, as wholly out of consideration, and as forming no possible basis for agreement.

Fresh negotiations were consequently opened on the side of the king, which resulted in the assembling of a convocation of the northern clergy at Pontefract, to consider in detail what formal reply should be given to the king's commissioners, and what exact demands should be made on behalf of the "Pilgrims of Grace," and their allies.

These demands were as follows:—(1) A Parliament must be convened at York within a reasonable period. (2) A full and entire amnesty for all must be proclaimed, without any exception or reservation whatsoever. (3) The recent statutes which had abrogated that ancient and legitimate authority of the Pope, known since the time of St. Austin;[7]

[7] The extravagant and wicked lengths to which the innova-

suppressed the monasteries; declared Mary the daughter of Queen Katherine illegitimate, and

tors went—making changes, and introducing new principles, still in active force, may be gathered from the fact that King Henry VIII., as "Supreme Head of the Church," granted faculties, to Bonner, Bishop of London, to enable him to perform certain episcopal functions, which may be seen at length in Bishop Burnet's "History of the Reformation" (vol. iv. p. 410) The king sets out with the assertion that the royal jurisdiction is the source of the ecclesiastical: and then remarks that, as Cromwell, his royal Vicar-General, has so much to do, he appoints Bonner in addition. This bishop is, by the king's authority, authorized to ordain priests, to collate them to benefices, or to institute them when presented by others, and to make a visitation of the diocese. This same doctrine is taught in the "Reformatio Legum." The king's son, Edward VI., exercising the same office of "Spiritual Head," granted to Cranmer, at that person's special petition and request, faculties permitting him to hold ordinations (Wilkins' "Concilia," vol. iv. 2). The same practice has been current in some form or another ever since, and it is the key-stone of the establishment. The Oath of Homage which the bishops still take on their knees before the sovereign, asserts that all spiritual and temporal authority and jurisdiction—a very wide and large assertion (covering so much)—comes from the monarch. Again: when a bishop was first sent to India it was enacted by Parliament (53 George III. chap. 155, sec. 53) that "such bishop shall not have or use any jurisdiction or exercise any episcopal functions whatsoever, . . . but only such jurisdiction and functions, as shall or may from time to time be limited to him by his Majesty by Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom." And King William IV. in his Letters Patent appointing the first Bishop of Australia, gives to him "and his successors Bishops of Australia, full power and authority to admit into the Holy Orders of deacon and priest respectively any person," &c. A recent writer, the Rev. J. H.

bestowed on the king the tithes and first-fruits of all benefices, must be at once, each one and every one, repealed. (4) Cromwell, the king's Vicar-General, Audley, the Lord Chancellor, and Rich, the Solicitor-General, were to be punished as promoters and abettors of heresy. (5) Lee and Layton, two of the most scandalous of the monastic inquisitors, were to be prosecuted for notorious extortion, peculation, and other abominable acts. (6) Finally, all heretical books were to be suppressed, and all heterodox bishops and clergy were to be deposed.

They wound up their demands by asserting that, unless the above-named conditions were complied with, an appeal to force must settle the dispute. In fact, to the leaders on both sides a battle seemed imminent.

It is easy to stigmatize the men who drew up this series of reasonable and noble demands as "superstitious and degraded fanatics;" but it is impossible, without doing them obvious injustice,

Blunt, holds that "the courage of the clergy in Convocation (under Henry VIII.), secured, under God's Providence, the future freedom of the Church," ("Reformation of the Church of England," chap. lv. p. 237); but those who use the term "freedom" in its ordinary sense, and remember the course of ecclesiastical legislation from the days of Thomas Cromwell to the time of Lord Penzance, will scarcely agree with him. The National Church is as much subject to the Crown as is the Board of Trade or the Admiralty.

to refuse them the proper titles of men of honour, integrity, courage, and good faith.

The deputies of the Pilgrims, amongst whom were Lords Scrope, Lumley, and Darcy, Sir Thomas Percy, and Robert Aske, had received definite instructions in writing from those whom they represented, not to make any concessions to his Majesty's Commissioners; so that the conference was brought to a sudden end by the Duke of Norfolk and Sir William Fitzwilliam, who by themselves, of course, were unable to admit and give force to the conditions proposed.

But the king, on learning exactly the gravity of the recent course of events, pledged himself with all solemnity by a public proclamation, to redress and remedy the grievances specified; promising at the same time that no one concerned in the rising should suffer for it. The exact words of the pardon, which followed the proclamation in question sealed with the Great Seal,—words which ought to be specially noticed, ran thus :—

"That the king granted them all a general and free pardon of all rebellion, treasons, felonies, and trespasses, unto the day of the date thereof; provided that they make their submission to the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Shrewsbury, the king's lieutenant, and that they rebel no more."

But the king seems to have very speedily repented of this act of clemency. For no sooner did most of the Pilgrims disperse, while others were

preparing to follow their example, than he forgot the solemn promises he had made, and completely broke his word. Both proclamation and pardon were treated by him as null and void.

Aske, who had been summoned to London, was treated with consideration ;[8] and at the outset had no reason to complain of the manner in which he had been received at court. But the old Lord Darcy, an abler diplomatist, who was more suspicious, and had only consented to obey the king's orders in the last extremity, was arrested and committed to the Tower on the very day that he arrived in London. Such conduct on the part of the king gave the greatest offence to the nobility, and created fresh alarm amongst all classes. It was found that the word and promise of the king could not be taken as of any worth. As a consequence of this treachery the disbanding Pilgrims again had recourse to arms. This occurred about the end of the month of January, 1537, or very early in the succeeding month.

Two gentlemen of position and repute, Nicholas Musgrave and Thomas Gilby, members of old and knightly families of the north, at the head of more than eight thousand men, at once besieged the city of Carlisle ; but were completely routed, after a

[8] Stowe the Chronicler asserts that "Sir Robert Aske [it seems doubtful whether he was a knight], that was chief of the Rebellion, came to London, was not only pardoned, but rewarded with great gifts," p. 574.

hard and prolonged battle, by the Duke of Norfolk. At the same time, Sir Francis Bigod, and an esquire named Hallam, with another considerable body of insurgents, gathered in the West Riding of Yorkshire, made a bold attempt to secure possession of Hull; but, after suffering several defeats, were taken prisoners and executed.

Nothing could exceed the violent expressions of rage with which the king heard of this new attempt at rebellion. No one dared tell his Majesty that it had evidently been brought about by his own breach of faith with those who had hitherto believed in his word; which seems to have been a very general opinion in London, both at the Court and in the city.[9] The king wrote to the Duke of Norfolk as follows, on February 22, 1537:—

"We do right well approve and allow your proceedings in the displaying of our banner. And, forasmuch as the same is now spread and displayed, by reason whereof, till the same shall be closed again, the course of our laws must give place to the ordinances and statutes martial, our pleasure is that before you close up our said banner again, you shall in any wise cause such

[9] "'If his Majesty's Councillors had bade him wisely keep his word,' said one Master Welde, 'there might have been much blood spared.' To which the sayd knight, his Grace's own Usher, assented with a will."—Notes from Family and Private MSS. collected by the author, folio 75, A.

dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet that have offended in this rebellion, as well by the hanging of them up in trees as by the quartering of them, and the setting of their heads and quarters in every town great and small, and in all such other places as they may be a fearful spectacle to all other hereafter that would practise any like matter; which We require you to do without pity or respect, according to Our former letters."

This rebellion, as well as that in Somersetshire, is attributed by the king to the "solicitation and traitorous conspiracy of the monks and canons;" and the duke is expressly enjoined and required to visit speedily the Abbeys of Hexham, Newminster, Lanercost, and others, as well as certain specified priories, and to "cause all the monks and canons that be in any way faulty," quoting his Majesty's expressive and formidable language, "to be tied up without further delay or ceremony, to the terrible example of others, wherein We think you shall do unto Us high service."

On learning something of the altered state of affairs, of the king's change of policy, of the defeat of his allies at Carlisle and Hull, and of the position of danger into which the people of Somersetshire and Devonshire had been led by somewhat hasty action, without sufficient preparation, Robert Aske resolved to escape from London.

But this was found to be impossible, for from the outset of his arrival there he had been watched by spies, who reported all his acts to the king; and, in the course of a few days, he was arrested, taken back to York, and hanged in chains upon one of the towers of the walls of that archiepiscopal city.[1]

A man of the noblest character, humble, devout, zealous, reverent, and hospitable, a fine specimen of a Catholic Englishman, whose religious and moral principles were those which had made the nation great, he died as he had lived, a true servant of his Master, an enthusiastic Churchman, and a patient sufferer for the unalterable Truth of God.

Had the rebellion of the sixteenth century, under Robert Aske, been as successful as that of the seventeenth, under Oliver Cromwell, when the Crown was overturned, the altars destroyed, and the monarch brought to the block, the former, with his valiant allies of the northern counties, would, like Cromwell and the English allies of William of Orange, have been looked upon as patriots, and their names venerated throughout future generations by those who regard them-

[1] John Rochester and James Walver, Carthusian monks, having been sent from the Charterhouse in London, where they had made their profession, to Hull; from Hull were likewise taken to York (through Beverley and Pocklington), and in the presence of the Duke of Suffolk were hung in chains, May 11, 1537, until every bone in their bodies fell detached from the rest to the ground.

selves as more especially enlightened and intellectual. But the insurrection failed, and no sin can be greater in the eyes of many historians than *failure*. It is a sin which they never forgive, and for which there is no absolution. By consequence Robert Aske was ignominiously hung at York, and is numbered amongst the rebels; while Oliver Cromwell, by sheer force succeeded in his ambitious aim and triumphed, and so his image is placed amongst the kings and queens of England, while, furthermore, King James the Second's son and lawful heir, the Prince of Wales, is known as "the Pretender."

But to return. Lord Hussey was tried at Westminster, convicted, and beheaded at Lincoln. Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Nicholas Tempest, Sir Stephen Hamilton, and Sir William Lumley, having gone through similar formalities, were executed at Tyburn, and Margaret, Lady Bulmer was burnt at Smithfield.

So likewise were Matthew Mackerell, Abbot of Barlings (one of the first and chief leaders of the Pilgrimage), William Thirske, Abbot of Fountains, and Adam Sedbar, Abbot of Jervaux. To these were hastily[2] added John Paslew, Abbot of

[2] Even Mr. Hallam is obliged to allow that "In the proceedings against . . . others who were implicated in the charge of treason at this period, we find so much haste, such neglect of judicial forms, and so bloodthirsty a determination to obtain convictions, that we are naturally tempted to reckon them

Whalley, Robert Hobbes, Abbot of Woburn, and William Trafford, Abbot of Lawley. Others of like dignity and ecclesiastical character suffered likewise, and with similar brutalities. William Wood, the Prior of Bridlington, and William Trafford were also hung, drawn, and quartered with remarkable barbarity. In truth, a heavy vengeance fell on the clergy, on the monks of the suppressed lesser monasteries, and on all who had either directly or indirectly taken part in the Pilgrimage. Gibbets soon groaned with the festering carcasses of malefactors. Heads and quarters of the sufferers, stuck on poles, upon church towers, in market-places and on village greens, awed the peasantry and the beggars. So that the king's triumph was great.

The old Lord Darcy, so much respected throughout the whole kingdom, had been released from the miseries of imprisonment in the Tower, because of his great age and on account of his previous signal and acknowledged services to the State. But, notwithstanding this, the king resolved that he should die. Though formally and publicly pardoned by the king, and uncharged with any offence of a later date than that of his pardon, judges were found to condemn him to the block, and an executioner to cut off his hoary head. This deed done, the king is reported by

amongst the victims of revenge or rapacity."—"Constitutional History of England," vol. i. p. 29: London, 1850.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his History, to have declared himself "satisfied."

So ended the unfortunate "Pilgrimage of Grace."

Wanderers amongst the churchyards, abbey ruins, and ancient houses of the northern counties may often find in desolate chancel and desecrated chantry, or on pictured representation, the family names of those who, risking so much for their altar, home, and hearth, failed and suffered. As long, however, as the Christian religion is firmly believed in and faithfully followed, as long as the potent graces of faith, zeal, devotion, and self-denial are valued, and their possessors honoured, so long will Englishmen remember with pride the names of those who suffered, even unto death, for the unchangeable Faith of their forefathers.

No. IV.

ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY,

AND THE

DESTRUCTION OF HIS SHRINE.

A.D. 1538.

I.

"Behold a great High Priest with rays
Of martyrdom's red sunset crown'd ;
None other like him in the days
Wherein he trod the earth, was found.
The swords of men unholy met
Above that just one, and he bled :
But God, the God he served, hath set
A wreath unfading on his head.

II.

"Blest is the people, blest and strong,
Whose pontiffs count a martyr'd saint ;
His virtuous memory, lasting long,
Shall keep their altars pure from taint.
The heathen plot ; the tyrants rage ;
But in their saint the poor shall find
A shield, or after many an age
A Light restored to guide the Blind."

AUBREY DE VERE.

No. IV.

ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF HIS SHRINE.

A.D. 1538.

It seems obvious to Common Sense that, when a belief in the double nature of man, and the soul's immortality, is admitted and recognized, Religion[1] must of necessity hold its own against, and even above, mere temporal laws and enactments. This appears to be a principle of ordinary universal law; because it has reference to that system of legal obligations under which mankind are ordi-

[1] In his "Traité du Droit Romain" (tom. i. p. 27, Ed. Paris, 1840), Savigny, a Prussian Protestant, lays down the principle that the Universality of Christianity forbids that its laws should be subjected to a purely national or municipal direction. They extend beyond, and by consequence over, temporal municipal law, but without any injury to, or weakening of, its legitimate and proper authority. For the Church was not intended to supersede temporal laws and governments, as its origin and objects are different from those of civil polity.

narily governed; and which constitute the order of human society. All mere political theories, therefore—and they abound now-a-days—which deliberately and of purpose cast aside Religion, are inherently absurd and ridiculous, because they reject and repudiate the fact of man's double nature, and ignore his firm conviction, i. e. the firm conviction of an overwhelming majority, that he owns a soul as well as a body. The civil state has reference to the use of things temporal, with a view to man's welfare here and the peace of races and nations: the spiritual state has for its object the future existence and eventual fate and destination of man in the world to come.

A consideration of this obvious and even elementary principle[2] can alone render intelligible

[2] A thoughtful writer in a recent number of the *Reunion Magazine*, having published certain opinions which are strongly confirmative of those embodying a principle in the text above, and which, being very interesting and valuable, are here reprinted:—

"It will be denied by no one that the primary intention of the institution of civil government is to promote the temporal well-being of mankind; and that the primary intention of the institution called 'The Church' is to provide for his eternal welfare. Then it may be asked: Is there necessarily, nay, can there be any real antagonism between these two things, namely, between the temporal and eternal interests of humanity; and, therefore, between the institutions which respectively regard them? Here we must distinguish in our reply. Before the fall these two interests were identical, not only in their essential nature, but also in the estimation of the parties concerned. Since the fall, while in their essential nature they remain truly

the character and importance of the struggle which, in the twelfth century, St. Thomas of

identical; in the estimation of man himself they become distinct, and even antagonistic, because, instead of adhering to the true end of his being, man has sought out many inventions, and has constantly endeavoured to set up his own will in opposition to that of his Maker. And although our Blessed Saviour, in founding His Church, intrusted its officers with powers, which, properly used and recognized, should powerfully conduce to the maintenance of good civil government, and might even have rendered the existence of a separate authority superfluous; yet it is clear, first, that the guidance of the Holy Ghost which is promised to the Church in spiritual things, does not of itself extend to the actual exigencies of State policy; and secondly, that as the Church can only exercise its authority over its own members, there will always remain room for the operation of separate secular jurisdiction, so long as any large portions of mankind are without its pale.

"Here we are of course speaking of the Church as wholly and essentially one, without schism, partner or rival, and virtually including all who are baptized and call themselves Christians. But, alas! men have battered and marred the beauty and power of the Church, and then wonder that she no longer is able to meet the expectations held out of her power and ability to bless them. They forget that all God's blessings and good gifts are offered to man, conditionally upon his co-operation and correspondence with the Divine favours. It is to him that hath, that more is given. God never deals with man as with an automaton or puppet. To do so would be to frustrate His own sovereign and gracious purposes. He has endowed man with intellect and will, and in His Providence and Economy He expects man to exercise those sublime endowments conformably with a dutiful submission to His own eternal supremacy. He therefore treats man as a responsible being, a second cause.

"The actual state of Christendom, divided and distracted as

Canterbury carried on so nobly, and in which, though he appeared as vanquished, he was still and surely the victor. The immunities of the clergy from secular jurisdiction—no unreasonable proposition at that period, considering the importance of securing spiritual independence—was the leading subject in dispute.

Now, in order rightly to understand the true reason of King Henry the Eighth's animus against St. Thomas, and the action which, under the interested advice of shrewd politicians, he took in desecrating his shrine at Canterbury, stealing its treasures and scattering the martyr's sacred relics, it is necessary to recall certain events in the saint's history, and to set them forth with fairness and impartiality :—

Thomas à Becket, son of Gilbert à Becket, reputed to have been a London trader, of Norman descent, was by King Henry the Second's command elected Archbishop of Canterbury on May 24th, 1162, and consecrated on Whit-Sunday, May 27th, of the same year.

He had been previously brought forward by

it is, renders the beneficent action of the Church upon social institutions all but inoperative ; so that we have now to witness a state of things in which the corporate capacities of Christendom taken as a whole have been utterly subverted by the evil passions of man. This is a condition entirely at variance with the early promise of the Church, when the brethren were One in heart and mind and soul, and had all things in common."—*Reunion Magazine*, No. ii. pp. 205, 206 : London, 1878.

Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, who first made him archdeacon and introduced him to the king. Henry II. appointed him his chaplain, and soon afterwards made him Lord High Chancellor. He had also been employed as an ambassador. Shortly after his appointment to the see of Canterbury, in order to do his spiritual work better and more effectually, he resigned the chancellorship, which gave the king great offence.

In the month of October of the year following, an assembly was held at Westminster, at which complaints were duly and regularly made of the proceedings of the spiritual courts; and the bishops were required to observe the "Customs," as they were termed, said, whether truly or the reverse, to have been used and followed from the time of King Henry I.,—which the prelates promised to do, but only "saving the rights of their order," as they not unreasonably maintained. The insertion of this condition is said to have displeased the king greatly.[3]

Three months afterwards, a Council was held at Clarendon, near Salisbury, at which certain Articles were brought forward by John of Salis-

[3] "If we wish fairly to judge of the right and the wrong between Henry and Thomas, we must first of all shut our eyes to all modern controversies whatever. We must not carry into that region any modern theories about Church and State, about Catholicism and Protestantism."—E. A. Freeman, D.C.L.

bury, chaplain to the king, specifying exactly and with precision what these "Customs" were supposed to be.

It seems, furthermore, that, after little or no discussion, the bishops were actually compelled by threats of violence to subscribe to them. But the archbishop formally and very speedily retracted his consent. And later on constantly expressed sorrow for having so subscribed them.

Believed to have been Customs[4] of a previous reign,—though questioned by many and repudiated by more,—the fact is they revived those very claims which had embroiled King Henry I. with Archbishop St. Anselm and the Popes; and had, as many asserted, been duly abandoned. By their express terms, all questions and disputes concerning church patronage were to be determined in the king's courts: churches in the king's demesne were to be filled by him without question, objection, or complaint: the clergy, both in person and property, were rendered amenable to the king's courts: and they were strictly forbidden to go abroad without his express consent. They were likewise distinctly forbidden to appeal to Rome. Vacant bishoprics and other ecclesiastical

[4] In the case of these "Customs" some were wholly new: none were of an age older than the Conquest: while, as to the crucial point in dispute, Mr. J. R. Green, in his "Short History of the English People" (p. 103), admits that "the Legislation respecting Ecclesiastical jurisdiction *was wholly new.*"

dignities were allowed to remain vacant in the king's hands for an unlimited time, the revenues and profits during such period to belong to him; election to all vacant bishoprics was only to take place after his written licence had been given; while homage, fealty, and all other services, were due for them as well as for lay fees, except sitting in judgment in matters of life and limb. Moreover, the spiritual courts were expressly forbidden to proceed to excommunication of the king's ministers or tenants-in-chief without the king's consent:[5] all pleas of debt were to be judged in the king's courts; and churchyards were not henceforth (as hitherto had been the case in many favoured places and reputed localities), to afford shelter for the goods of offenders condemned in those royal courts; while, finally, no sons of villeins were to receive ordination, without their lord's consent.

On the above Articles the disputes between the king and the archbishop arose.

At a Council held in the month of October, A.D. 1164, at Northampton, several charges were brought against the archbishop chiefly concerning his administration of the king's property during his tenure of the chancellorship.

[5] "The archbishop saw that to concede this unreservedly would be to place the whole of the clergy at the king's mercy." —"Constitutional History," by the Rev. W. Stubbs, vol. i. p. 464.

There is most certainly neither evidence, nor any ground for reasonable suspicion, that he had ever, or at any time, applied the king's treasure to his own purpose—a charge rather indirectly asserted than boldly and plainly made. The archbishop pleaded that all such matters had been duly settled with the king's justiciary before he became archbishop; but he was nevertheless condemned in a large sum. On this he intimated his intention of appealing to the Pope, his reasonable right if not his obvious duty.

Thomas à Becket therefore left Northampton at once, that is on October 13th, and after a short stay in Kent, crossed the channel almost immediately, landed in Flanders, and found an asylum at Pontigny in Burgundy with the Cistercians there. On learning this, the king banished all the relations and friends of the archbishop, to the number of four hundred, an arbitrary act deserving the severest condemnation. In return the archbishop proceeded to excommunicate several of the king's friends, who had intruded upon the due and rightful province of the spiritualty, and interfered with the ancient rights of the primatial see, together with such of the bishops and clergy as had consented, contrary to their obligations as clerics, to accept and abide by the Articles or Constitutions of Clarendon.

Owing to the direct and indirect persecution, originated at the king's instigation, and endured

by the monks at Pontigny for having received the archbishop, his Grace left them and took refuge at Sens in 1167, with the permission of Louis VII., King of France, who, warmly espousing the archbishop's cause, had received his exiled relation in the summer of the previous year, and now welcomed the archbishop himself.

Several attempts at effecting a reconciliation between the king and his chief prelate were made, more especially one which was approved of by Pope Alexander III., in 1169, then residing in France, but they all failed. Meetings of their mutual friends were held, but with no good result, as neither party seemed willing to put faith in the other.

At length, however, that is in July, 1170, the king and the archbishop were reconciled at Mont Louis, near Tours; and about five months afterwards Thomas à Becket landed in Kent. But the coronation of the young king as Henry III., performed in his father's lifetime, with the view of consolidating his power, having taken place in the previous June—the sacred ceremonies of anointing and crowning being performed by the Archbishop of York, assisted by the Bishops of London and Salisbury—raised fresh and grave difficulties. It undoubtedly rested, as an inalienable right, and had always rested, with the Archbishops of Canterbury to crown the English sovereign; and so generally was this known and

admitted by those who made a study of such subjects, and owned authority, that the archbishop had no difficulty whatever in procuring from the holy father Letters of Excommunication for those prelates who had thus so gravely infringed the ancient rights of the Primatial See, which letters he brought with him on landing in Kent.

The archbishop, on returning to Canterbury, the possessions of which were restored to him upon November 12th of the same year, found that the property of the see had been grievously wasted by the sequestrators, Ranulph and Robert de Broc. Early in December, for reasons which appeared to him good and sufficient, he promulgated the sentence against the three offending bishops, who therefore proceeded to Normandy, where the king still remained, at the famous Castle of Bur, near Bayeux, and there claimed his protection. Their conversation with the king, which took place on December 24th, caused his Majesty great excitement. Rumours, no doubt wildly exaggerated, of the Archbishop of Canterbury's sayings and doings, had already reached him. The king, though surrounded by state officers, courtiers, and knights, is said to have become frantic on hearing such reports repeated and discussed anew. Some one remarked—it does not seem exactly certain who—"As long as Thomas lives, your Majesty will have neither peaceful kingdom nor quiet life." This remark

only added fuel to the fire. "What sluggards and cowardly wretches, then, must they be," retorted the king, with force and violence, "who will not rid me of this low-born priest, whom I have loaded with gifts, but who deliberately insults a whole race, and tramples on its sovereign! Are there none," he went on to ask, "who care for their allegiance to their master? Are there none, not cowards, who will rid me of this base fellow?"

The above violent[6] words, and specially the ominous and crucial questions which the king had put, were not lost on some of those present. Four English knights heard them, and, obviously instigated from below, resolved to act on the recommendation thus indirectly made to them by their royal lord and master.

These were Hugh de Moreville, William de Tracy, Richard Le Bret, and Reginald Fitzurse. Moreville, of high rank and office in Cumberland,

[6] "These words goaded the king into one of those paroxysms of fury to which all the earlier Plantagenet princes were subject, and which was believed by themselves to arise from a mixture of demoniacal blood in their race."—*The Murder of Becket*, *Quarterly Review*, for September, 1853. Of King Henry, a writer on "St. Thomas of Canterbury," in the *Reunion Magazine*, says, "See him, when thwarted in his humour, grovelling like a maniac on the rack, gnawing wisps of straw, or gnashing his teeth, and growling like a wild beast, with those frightful blood-spotted orbs glaring with hatred and ferocity," p. 220.

was official Forester of that county, and owner of the lands and Castle of Knaresborough in Yorkshire. William de Tracy, of Gloucestershire, descended on his father's side from the Saxon King Ethelred, and on his mother's (though through her father's base birth) from Henry I. Le Bret, the son of one of the Conqueror's retainers from Brittany, belonged to the county of Somerset, where he had considerable possessions. Reginald Fitzurse, descended from Urso, likewise a retainer of the Conqueror, became the owner of the lands and manor of Willeton, in the same beautiful county.

Some writers assert that the plot which these four knights undertook to carry out was arranged with the knowledge and by the aid of the Archbishop of York—a most determined opponent of à Becket. Others that the king had himself planned it; and this was believed by some of the contemporaries of St. Thomas. Anyhow the above-named knights left Bur on the very evening of the day on which the king in his furious temper had spoken out his wishes so plainly; and, crossing the channel singly, two of them landed at Dover, and the other two at Winchelsea. They all arrived together at Saltwood Castle, the residence of Ranulph de Broc, on the evening of December 28th.

On the following day, Tuesday,[7] the 29th, they

[7] "Tuesday, his friends remarked, had always been a signifi-

proceeded to Canterbury, when, after an act of unwarranted intrusion, feigning a commission from the king, they vainly attempted to force the primate of all England to recall the sentence against the Archbishop of York, and the two other prelates; for he was as firm as a rock. His resolution had been duly taken.

The end of the story, so grand, solemn, and tragic, has often been told; though seldom faithfully and fully. Its terrible close left an impression upon Christendom in general, and on England in particular, which even the senile absurdity and gross sacrilege of Henry VIII. and his minions, in regard to the saint's shrine, have had no power permanently to efface. St. Thomas is still venerated by all Catholics who realize the essential distinction between the things of Cæsar and the things of God. His name is had in everlasting remembrance; his feasts endure. His powers as

cant day in Becket's life. On a Tuesday he was born and baptized, on a Tuesday he had fled from Northampton, on a Tuesday he had left the king's court in Normandy, on a Tuesday he had left England on his exile, on a Tuesday he had received warning of his martyrdom in a vision at Pontigny, on a Tuesday he had returned from that exile; it was now on a Tuesday that the fatal hour came; and (as the next generation observed), it was on a Tuesday that his enemy, King Henry, was buried; on a Tuesday that the martyr's relics were translated, and Tuesday was long afterwards regarded as the weekday especially consecrated to the saint with whose fortunes it had thus been so strangely interwoven."—pp. 51, 52 of "Historical Memorials of Canterbury," by A. P. Stanley. London: 1855.

a Saint of the Most High, and as a patron of the clergy and their spiritual rights and privileges, are neither crippled nor enfeebled. The dark events of that Tuesday cannot, therefore, be too often recalled by all believers in Christianity; more particularly as the struggle between the Spiritual and the Temporal, fierce and bitter in some countries, is being feebly acted over again on the cramped and narrow stage of the local Church of England, by nineteenth-century performers.[8]

So let the grand story be once more duly but

[8] "Governments and statesmen—or, at least, persons in high places who very seldom deserve to be called statesmen—hate with a bitter hatred and burning jealousy a Church which is not absolutely under their control, and they want to make religion a department of the State. A Church which they cannot absolutely control gives them trouble, or may do so, and it offends their pride. It is the Mordecai who will not bow down to them. They protest against *imperium in imperio;* they would set up an idol of their own—a golden image before whom all must fall down and worship, and they would forbid all men from making petition to God or man, except to the Government. The spirit is the same now that it was in the days of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius. So history repeats itself, not always in the same form, but with similar principles. The honourable and learned member for Oxford (Sir W. Vernon Harcourt), told the House of Commons that he supported the Anglican Church, because it was the Creature of Parliament, and by Parliament it could be altered or unmade. He repudiated with indignation the very idea that there could be anything in the Church superior to temporal law; or anything with which Parliament had not a right to deal, as freely as it would deal with a turnpike act. This is the prevalent and received opinion of the present day."—Sir George Bowyer.

briefly narrated, for its points have an obvious purpose, while its weighty lessons some may duly read with advantage and profit.

Breaking into the palace of the archbishop, the four knights, as has been shown, sought an interview with his Grace, asserting that they had a personal and special message from the king. Whether this was true or not seems exceedingly doubtful. Fitzurse appears to have been the chief spokesman. He urged on the archbishop to do his duty to his sovereign ; and required him to absolve the archbishop and bishops whom he had excommunicated. But the Archbishop of Canterbury replied promptly that he ought not and could not submit to the demands made.

De Moreville, in answer to the Primate's statement of the wrongs and insults he had both remotely and recently received, is said to have asked why the archbishop punished offenders by his own authority, and without reference to the king.

To which his Grace at once retorted,—

" How proudly do you, Sir Hugh, lift up your head ! Remember this, however, that when the rights of Holy Church are violated, I shall wait for no man's permission, whether king or subject, to avenge them. Freely to the king I surrender the concerns of the king, but never, under any circumstances, the things of God."

This plain statement of Christian policy greatly

angered the knights; so, drawing their swords, they used unworthy and wild threats.

But the archbishop only answered, "Your threats, sirs, are empty and vain. Were all the swords of England suspended over my head, they would not force me one hair's-breath from my duty to God and to the Pope."

Enlisting a few others on their side from those who had assembled because of the tumult, and this by appeals to them as servants of the king, amongst whom were William Fitz-Nigel and Ralph Morin, the knights retired and at once proceeded to arm themselves.

Evidently perceiving that his hour of suffering and martyrdom had come, for his enemies, obviously enough resolute and determined, were now using violence; and also firmly declining the advice of John, Archdeacon of Salisbury, who endeavoured to impress on his master the virtues of submission to the king, and of due moderation in defending the right and the truth, he was eventually induced to enter the cathedral. But he was in no hurry, and would not go until his archiepiscopal crucifix was procured, and duly borne before him, according to precedent and custom. Others were excited; the monks around him were terrified, and would have hurried him onward; he alone, as he walked statelily through the cloisters, was calm.

It was the hour of vespers. Darkness had stolen over the city for more than an hour; for the

winter evenings draw in early towards the end of December, and the solemn gloom of the old and venerable cathedral, stately and vast, was already as deep as at midnight. Before the great Rood, however, beside the image of our Lady in her chapel at the north-east corner of the nave, in front of the various altars, (St. Benedict's to the north, and St. Michael's to the south) suspended lamps gleamed and flickered and glowed in the gloom ; but, in so broad and lofty an edifice, served only to make the increasing darkness more visible, save where the lights fell on gilded figure or pictured panel.

As the archbishop and his attendants were about to enter the cathedral, near the chapter-house, the armed knights, with visors down and naked swords, coming round the cloisters' western side, approached the western door of St. Benedict's chapel. It had been closed, after the archbishop's entrance, by some of the terrified clergy, who were proceeding to barricade the entrance as best they might. But his Grace, fearless and ready for the sacrifice, called out loudly, "By virtue of your obedience, we command you not to shut the church's door ; for this House of God is not a castle."

Here all his friends, save three, forsook the fearless archbishop and fled. Robert, his old tutor, Fitz-Stephen, his chaplain, and Edward Grim, firm and faithful, alone remained. The

primate had been fervently and frequently urged to fly and secrete himself in some remote and unknown recess of the great cathedral: there were many such, and near at hand; but he absolutely refused. There he stood, erect and noble, on the steps to the choir, in the north transept, near to the altar of St. Benedict, and not far from the chapel of St. Blaise above.

"Where is Thomas Becket, a traitor to the king?" wildly and loudly screamed out one of the armed knights.

But to such a query no reply could have been vouchsafed.

"Where is the archbishop?" Fitzurse demanded in an imperious voice.

"Here I am, Reginald; no traitor, but your archbishop and a priest of God. What ask you?"

"Absolve those bishops whom you have excommunicated," promptly replied the knight in a fury.

"I can and will do no other than I have done," was the archbishop's firm and simple reply. "But why come you thus armed into our church?" he asked.

"You shall die, traitor! Fly at once! fly, for you are a dead man!"

"I am ready to die for God and His holy Church, if God wills it; but I warn you in the Almighty's Name to let my men escape."

Here the knights, having resolved on taking

his life, but dreading that the sin of sacrilege should be added to murder, strove hard, by force and violence, to drag the archbishop from the south side of St. Benedict's altar, and carry him out of the sacred precincts, but, his Grace stoutly resisting, this could not be done. Now, however, had the hour of darkness come.

With coarse epithets and loud imprecations they therefore cried out, "Strike! strike!"

The sword of Fitzurse, flashing in the gloom, fell. His was the first stroke. The archbishop was wounded, and his blood flowed.

"We commend our cause and the Church's cause to God, to St. Denys, and St. Alphege," calmly ejaculated the holy sufferer, and, with joined palms, bent his saintly neck to the smiters.

Tracy and Fitzurse, instigated by the powers of darkness, immediately brandished their swords again. One, in its fierce fall, struck the intercepted arm of Grim, the faithful monk, who, smitten and disabled, crept aside; the other struck the archbishop on the side of his head, and, glancing off, wounded him anew and sorely on the left shoulder, even to the very bone. The end was still nearer now.

"Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," were the beautiful words which, in his passion, passed the dying martyr's lips.

With his calm face, down which the blood was flowing, turned towards the altar of St. Benedict,

recollected and prepared, full of trust in God, he received a third blow from Tracy, and then, bending on his knees, and ejaculating, "I die for the Name of Jesus and in defence of His Church," fell down at length upon the altar steps.

Here, with a violent imprecation, and with words of insult, Richard Le Bret, waving his sword over his shoulders, brought it down with such tremendous force upon the already wounded head of the prostrate and bleeding archbishop that the crown and scalp were severed, and the huge sword snapped in two on striking the chapel pavement. Another of the sacrilegious murderers at once, planting his foot on the neck of the martyr, barbarously thrust the point of his sword into the gaping wound and scattered the archbishop's brains upon the sanctuary floor. So died, for the liberties of the Church, the greatest prelate who has ever sat in the chair of St. Austin.[9]

[9] Notwithstanding the destruction of the Reformation era, a few representations of the martyrdom exist. One of the most exact occurs in an illuminated Psalter in the British Museum (Harl. MS. No. 1502). There is, or was, a fresco of the same on the wall of Brereton Church, county Chester (See "Archæologia," vol. ix.). A good representation remains likewise in a handsome MS. in the library of the college of Old Aberdeen, which I inspected, and of which I wrote some "Notes" in one of the later volumes of the "Ecclesiologist." (See Appendix No. IV.) That on a panel at the head of King Henry the Fourth's tomb at Canterbury has been reproduced with considerable fidelity in the late Mr. Carter's "Ancient Sculpture and Painting." And there is, or was, a picture of the event in the Chapel of the Holy

Rushing out of the church, with a furious and demoniacal shout of frenzied triumph, the murderers made at once for the private apartments of the palace. Sacred vessels, rich with jewels, covered cups of beaten gold, vestments, books, and church ornaments; papal bulls, charters, letters, and private coffers were all ruthlessly seized, as well as the contents of the chaplain's lodgings and the horses from the archbishop's stables. Fitz-Stephen estimated the amount of plunder secured at no less than two thousand marks. The same writer states that, when the murderers were escaping from the cathedral, an awful thunderstorm, of more than usual severity, broke over the city of Canterbury, and continued for some hours.

Towards midnight, Osbert, the chamberlain of the archbishop, and the monks (as the various records of the event seem to imply) had placed the body on a bier—the face was most calm and beautiful in death—and carried it to the choir in front of the high altar. The gashes and gory wounds upon the pale corpse were reverently bathed, the scattered brains and blood carefully

Cross, Stratford. It represents the archbishop with the pall over his shoulders, half prostrated before an altar, with the four armed knights attacking him. Two have raised the points of their swords to his head. Another is wildly brandishing a sword high in the air. Edward Grim stands in the distance. There is a chalice and a book, with two lighted tapers on the altar. And blood is streaming down from his wounds.

gathered and treasured up; vessels were placed to catch any blood which might still fall; and the monks sat silent or weeping around the remains of their archbishop, in the dimly-lighted choir.

Here and now it was that Robert of Merton, his confessor and faithful friend, unfolded to those assembled something of the austerities of the martyred archbishop, in proof of which, unfolding the outer dress, he showed the monastic habit and under garments of horsehair which the deceased prelate had worn, both on his lower limbs and body, next to his skin. The delight of the community on seeing these knew no bounds. Falling on their knees, as Fitz-Stephen states, they first thanked God, and then, reverently kissing the hands and feet of the body, they enthusiastically called the archbishop "St. Thomas," and venerated his remains as those of one of the noble army of martyrs.

The people of the city came in crowds to the church, anxious, excited, and interested. Dipping their hands in the water which had been used to wash the corpse, they made the sacred sign on their foreheads, mouths, and breasts, praising and glorifying God. One citizen, taking a fragment of linen dipped into this water, carried it home and applied it to the pain-smitten body of his paralyzed wife, who was instantly cured.

The monks, in mental prayer and meditation, continued to watch round the bier all through the

night. People in the city, disturbed and wakeful, when the storm was over, saw the northern sky all crimsoned with a deep glow, and looked tremblingly upon the unusual sight as ominous of the wrath of God. From the interior of the cathedral the sky still seemed black and murky; but when the first streaks of light came into the choir from the east, and another wintry morning broke after the gloom and darkness of the midnight storm, those who were still watching and praying are reported to have seen the ringed right hand of the martyr, white and bloodless, rise slowly from his side and draw the sacred sign of the cross in benediction over those faithful friends who had been watching round his bier.[1]

He was buried in a new tomb in the old crypt, between the altar of St. Augustine the Apostle of England, and that of St. John the Baptist. Vested in full pontificals—in amice and alb, tunick, dalmatick, chasuble, and pall of lamb's-wool, with mitre, pastoral staff, gloves, and sapphire ring[2]—he was solemnly laid to rest, at no great distance from the spot where he had so bravely and devoutly received the abiding glory of a martyr's crown. For this honour was given him by the common consent of Christendom, by prelates,

[1] Roger de Hovenden, "Annales," p. 299.

[2] These were the actual vestments in which he had received consecration. Vita S. Thom. Cant. Arch., W. Fitz-Stephen.

priests, and people, by the universal acclamation of the faithful everywhere.

Pope Alexander III., in the year 1172, having duly sent a commission to investigate the numerous miracles reported to have been done at his tomb, with a view to his canonization, that step was formally taken on March 3rd in the year ensuing, and the day of his death, December 29th, was by competent and acknowledged authority duly made a feast-day of high rank henceforth for evermore.

Subsequently the relics of St. Thomas were formally translated from the crypt to a special shrine prepared for them. A considerable portion of the eastern part of the cathedral was rebuilt in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the year 1220, in the reign of King Henry III., this solemn translation in question occurred. Tuesday, the 7th of July, was the day selected, and certainly the city of Canterbury had never seen such a spectacle, nor been thronged with nobler or greater[3] than those who then gathered to honour the martyred saint.

The year selected for this deed was exactly the fiftieth from the death and martyrdom of St. Thomas. Stephen Langton, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, had duly prepared the faithful for

[3] The interested or curious reader may profitably consult the metrical Life of St. Thomas written by Robert of Gloucester in his interesting and valuable "Chronicle in Verse." Thomas Hearne, the Oxford antiquary, first printed it.

the event. A Pastoral from his Eminence's pen had not only been circulated throughout England, but sent to the chief centres of ecclesiastical life and power throughout Western Christendom. Devoted and zealous pilgrims came from all parts, in response to the primate's indirect invitation, to join in the great martyr's triumph.

Orders had been given by the Cardinal Archbishop to make due provision for the moving multitudes who swarmed towards Canterbury, by all those who were tenants of his Eminence. Hay and provender by consequence were freely distributed to all who needed them. Wine in abundance made glad the hearts of thousands, who, both from distant and near parts of the continent, added materially to the throng of Englishmen taking their way to the sacred city, and cheered them on the journey thither.

On the evening of Tuesday, the 6th of July, the divine offices having been sung in choir, the Cardinal Archbishop, with Richard, Bishop of Sarum, and the prior and monks of the cathedral all abstaining, entered the crypt, and then with due and reverent rites formally opened the martyr's tomb, and prepared his sacred relics for their solemn translation to the new shrine on the morrow. Four clerics, with a special reputation for sanctity, alone handled the body of the martyr, which was reverently kissed in turn by all those present. A coped chest of carved box-wood,

covered with precious metal, and with strong bands and secure locks, and lined with snow-white samite, received the precious remains, which were then temporarily laid in a secret under-croft waiting for the rites to ensue of the morrow.

Masses, on the 7th of July, were said from the break of day at the various altars of the cathedral. The Sanctus bells rang incessantly. Thousands crowded up to the sacred spots where the tapers gleamed, and the mystic sacrifice was being offered; while those who received the Body of their Saviour could scarcely be numbered. They came and went, and went and came, earnest and deep in devotion and outward acts of piety. Other pilgrims, standing before the Lord's Table, leaning upon their staves, bent reverently or kissed the pavement at the elevation, and adored God manifest in the flesh. All were looking with anxiety for the special solemnities of the morning. The cathedral was thronged from side to side.

Up the stately nave came the long and orderly procession at the hour of Terce. Bells clanged from the tower overhead, telling a tale of conquest and triumph. Rich hangings round the broad pillars of the nave, and banners gleaming with blue and gold and vermilion, figures of the saints, heraldic charges and symbolical devices, hung upon the sacred walls. The morning sunshine of July fell brightly through the pictured windows on cross, and tapers, and choristers, and monks, and

clergy. All the bishops of England, save three, were present in cope and mitre, and with pastoral staff. Solemn psalms and joyous sequences, in tones as ancient as the days of St. Gregory and St. Ambrose of Milan, were chanted as the stately procession passed slowly onward and upward towards the high altar and St. Austin's chair.

The wooden shrine of St. Thomas, affixed to two long staves inlaid with silver, was carried by six of the noblest and most potent of the realm. Hubert de Burgh, the Lord High Justiciary, and five other noblemen of superior rank, clad in their official garments, taking the silvered staves, three on one side and three on the other, raised it on to their shoulders, and then with martial tread followed in their appointed order. On either side, in rochet and cope, prelates bore lighted tapers; while clouds of incense round and about the sacred treasure rose upward to the cathedral roof. Crowds bent the knee. Every heart was glad.

Then came King Henry III., surrounded by the great officers of state, who bore a canopy over their sovereign.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, with all the insignia of his exalted office, and attended by his eight chaplains, came in the rear, with the Primate of France, the Archbishop of Rheims, on his right hand, and Pandulph, Legate of the Holy See and Bishop of Norwich, on the Primate's left.

Solemn pontifical mass was sung by the French Archbishop, in the presence of the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, and nearly the whole of the hierarchy, according to the ancient Rite of the august and venerable church of Salisbury, with three bishops as deacon, sub-deacon, and priest, assisting. The chaplains of these prelates took part in the ordered ceremonies. Monks sang the plain chant, accompanied by two small organs. Boys in cassocks and rochets lent their voices likewise. The many steps of the altar-sanctuary were thronged with officials bearing lighted tapers or performing their appointed duties. Silver lamps hung before the high altar, towards which all turned, and, from time to time, bent in lowliest adoration. For now acolytes were ringing the clear-voiced Sanctus bells, and soon the act of sacrifice was to be consummated. Censers moving from side to side, or flung high up in the air, gave forth their sweetest perfume in swelling clouds—beautiful symbol of the prayers of the saints offered before the throne of God the Trinity. The rite was now ended, the pax given, the blessing bestowed, the last gospel chanted.

Nothing remained, therefore, but to finish the great work of the day. The chest or coffer containing the saint's remains, which, during high mass had rested temporarily under a canopy of cloth-of-gold before the high altar, guarded by those nobles who had borne it in procession, was

then deposited within the new and special shrine prepared for it at the extreme east end of the new portion of the cathedral; while henceforth the day was numbered amongst the more important feasts of Holy Church, and is known throughout western Christendom as "The Festival of the Translation of St. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Martyr."

During three centuries and a half this shrine was an object of interest and attraction to hundreds of thousands from all parts of the world.[4] No other English saint attained such wide and marked fame. And why? According to the Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough (or whoever else was the author of the treatise) such a divine manifestation of miraculous powers as were

[4] "Hume," remarks that plain-spoken writer, William Cobbett, "is vexed to have to relate that more than a hundred thousand pilgrims to Becket's shrine have been assembled at one time in Canterbury. Indeed! Why then there must have been some people living in England even in those old times; and those people must have had some wealth too: though, according to the whole tenor of the lying book which the Scotch call our 'History,' this was at the time I am now speaking of a poor, beggarly, scarce-inhabited country. The city of Canterbury does not now contain men, women, and children, all counted and well puffed out, more than twelve thousand, seven hundred, and twenty souls. Poor souls! How could *they* find lodging and entertainment for a hundred thousand grown persons! And this, too, observe at one corner of the island."—"A History of the Protestant Reformation." Letter vi. p. 95, Ed. 1868.

frequently seen at St. Thomas's shrine had been altogether unknown for generations. Strangers as well as Englishmen were the benefited subjects of them. From the highest to the lowest, by consequence, there came pilgrims, and in increasing numbers, to venerate the martyr's memory. Already, at his temporary tomb, King Henry had devoutly done his appointed penance, having gone barefooted through the city to the cathedral; knelt to kiss the pavement where the martyr fell, received absolution and five strokes of the "discipline" from each of the prelates present, and then passed a whole night fasting in the church. Here, during the month of September, 1179, Louis VII. of France, in acknowledgment of the recovery of his son Philip Augustus, kneeling, offered the celebrated jewel which might have ransomed a race. King Richard's first act upon landing at Sandwich on March 20, 1194, was to walk from that port to Canterbury, and thank God Almighty for his conquests, deliverance, and return home. Thither, too, five years later, went King John, soon after his unction and coronation, to venerate St. Thomas with devotion, and to leave some offerings worthy of a king at his shrine. Edward I. (who had just previously brought the "Stone of Destiny" from Scone, in Scotland, to the tomb of St. Edward the Confessor, at Westminster, where, under the coronation chair, it still remains), visited Canterbury

Cathedral in the year 1299, and left, as a memorial of his visit, the golden crown of John Balliol. Thither, too, journeyed Isabella, Queen of Edward II., who is recorded to have left gifts at the tomb itself, at the "Crown," or "Corona" (as it was termed), and at the "Altar of the point of the sword." In the "Household Accounts" of King Edward III., for the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth years, the oblations of Queen Philippa are thus entered:—"At the shrine xl shillings; at the altar of the *punctum ensis* v s., and in alms xij d. Edward of Woodstock offered, on the same occasion, xij d. at the shrine; the same amount at Our Lady's image in the crypt, and a like sum at the 'Crown.'" Others came from Scotland, France, Italy, and Bohemia. None left without leaving behind them substantial memorials of their visits.

Not kings and nobles, however, but members of all classes went to Canterbury in pilgrimage. Foreigners who came from the eastern parts of Europe, or home travellers who had journeyed thither and back, landed usually at Sandwich, then a port of great importance, and so took their way direct to the ancient city of St. Augustine. Another road for pilgrims from Anjou, Brittany, and Western Normandy, lay from Southampton across the Surrey downs, from Farnham, the seat of the Bishops of Winchester, westward by a beautiful and picturesque road into Kent. Some would

probably go through Merstham, where a narrow lane in the parish is still known as the "Pilgrim's Lane." A "Pilgrim's Farm," near Titsey, on the same route, likewise retains its old designation. Through Chevening Park, by Wrotham and Trotterscliffe, past Snodland, near the Medway; pilgrims took their way, and then by Deptling, Hollingbourne, Harrietsham, and Lenham, places all retaining some memories of those who passed through them, to Charing, Chilham, Harbledown, and so on to Canterbury. From London, down the Old Kent Road, by Sevenoaks and Dartford, a little northward, was then commonly the first resting-place, for pilgrims; and here, as well as in Southwark, the sale of what are known as "pilgrims' tokens" [5] was largely carried on. Other roads from different parts of England, north and west and east, are still remembered as the "ways of the Palmers," or "the pilgrims' path." Near some of these roads, wayside chapels, or mere oratories, dedicated to the saint, once stood; but these have long since been razed to the ground, and in some cases the very sites are grass-grown, and all but forgotten.

[5] Canterbury Pilgrims' tokens were mainly little bottles of moulded lead, containing holy water, in which some part of the saint's relics had been placed, or with which originally his wounds had been washed. They were of various shapes, some being rude representations of him, some were made in the form of mitres; others represented his head cleft with a sword, &c.

It is more than probable that pilgrims to the shrine were first shown the actual spot of St. Thomas's martyrdom in the northern transept. Those who could afford them, or had provided themselves beforehand, bore lighted tapers in procession, and went orderly, two and two, saying their Rosary or other devotions, with downcast eyes and with marked external devotion. Somner, the Canterbury historian, has preserved the following lines which are said to have existed down to the sixteenth century, written over the door by which this transept was entered :—

"Est sacer infra locus venerabilis atque beatus
Præsul ubi Sanctus Thomas est martyrisatus."

Here there was an ancient wooden altar, with an inlaid stone slab in its centre, before which the saint had fallen in death. Here too were shown various relics connected with him, and specially the fragment of Le Bret's sword, which, as already recorded, had been snapped by its sudden contact with the floor at the actual moment of St. Thomas's martyrdom.

The pilgrims, each bearing a lighted taper, were then taken down to the old Norman crypt, illuminated by lines and crowns of hanging silver lamps, suspended from the groined ceiling above, which shed a soft glow over the vast and varied collection of gathered treasures. Inlaid marble work, representing various Christian symbols on a gold ground, with plates of rich enamels, where strange

devices had been wrought with art and skill, adorned the curving roof. Here was exhibited to the kneeling pilgrims a portion of the saint's skull, set in gold; with other portions of his dress and official *ornamenta.*

The treasures of the sacristry on the north side of the choir were then inspected. In standing aumbries of old oak, bound with bands of brass, and secured by artfully-made locks, these were placed upon shelves, ranged in order, and glittering with jewels and wrought metal, beaten and chased. Few cathedrals in Christendom could have equalled Canterbury in the number and splendour of its ecclesiastical treasures. Golden candlesticks and reliquary crosses, chrysmatories and *ciboria*, standing lamps of silver, precious mitres, thuribles, images, tablets of carved ivories, and chalices, rich with uncut gems, were crowded together upon the shelves of these sacristy aumbries. But to the pilgrims the most notable objects of interest were a wooden pastoral staff of the martyr, of the simplest form, with crook of horn, and with a blood-stained *vexillum,* or handkerchief,[6] attached to it.

[6] Dean Stanley in his account of the Pilgrims' visit, "Historical Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral," becomes witty at the exhibition of a "handkerchief," it was the handkerchief with which the saint "blew his nose." This, however, was originally only a square piece of linen commonly suspended from the neck of a bishop's pastoral staff, so that the moist hand might not be constantly coming into contact with a staff of metal. In later times it was made of silk or satin, and embroidered.

Coming out again into the ambulatory, a few paces eastwards brought them to the shrine itself, standing in the middle of the chapel of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, at the cathedral's extreme east end. The shrine stood due east and west, halfway between the entrance and the lowest platform of the chapel altar. On either side, the windows glowed with pictured glass. Gilding, colours, carving in the costliest marbles, enamels, and the richest hangings, were found on all sides. Encaustic tiles, bright in themselves, but harmonizing wonderfully with what was around, covered the floor.

The shrine, properly so called, consisted of two parts, the lower of which was of stone or marble, and that above of wood. Round the former were recessed arcades of some architectural character; while above rose a wooden construction, coped at the top, possibly cased with precious metal enamelled and adorned, and crowned with three highly-wrought finials of silver gilt, each weighing from sixty to eighty ounces. From a drawing of the shrine in one of the Cottonian MSS.,[7] in the British Museum, probably made by some person who actually took part in its destruction, or at least was present on the occasion, it appears that the bones of the saint were preserved in a chest of iron—which, in the drawing referred to, is represented in front of the shrine itself. This, however,

[7] MSS. Cotton. Tiberius E., viii. folio 269.

no doubt stood upon the middle of the lower part, carefully embedded in the same, and commonly canopied with the coped cover of wood. When this latter was raised by the keeper of the shrine by ropes suspended to the groined roof above, then, plated with gold—wrought, embossed, engraved, and enamelled—and covered with innumerable gold ornaments, jewels, pearls, and precious stones, gleaming and glittering in the light of clusters of wax-candles and pendant silver lamps, the shrine itself, in all the splendour of its riches, was presented to view.

The offerings at the shrine consisted ordinarily of rings, brooches, rosaries, ivory carvings of great antiquity, cups of precious metal, jewelled personal ornaments; wrought or carved representations of the donor's patron saint, embossed and engraved vessels of gold and silver, and priceless precious stones of the rarest character and size.

Although, during three centuries and more, hundreds of thousands visited the shrine, it has been said, and may be said again, that few amongst these knew, even in a general way, the true history of the saint they had come to venerate, and the importance of his deeds and acts; yet the Christian instinct of the pious and instructed was no doubt always keen enough to see that St. Thomas had waged a noble war for the independence of the kingdom of God, and to know that, like his Master, Our Blessed Lord and Saviour

(though humbly and at a distance), he had conquered his enemies in and by his death.

We have now learnt something of St. Thomas's Shrine in its glory. Its utter destruction—so utter that not a trace of it remains—must now be briefly narrated.

It is generally allowed that King Henry VIII. was indebted to Thomas Cromwell for the idea of bringing to trial an Archbishop of Canterbury who had been dead and canonized for more than three hundred years.

Two reasons no doubt influenced his Majesty in acting on this advice, from whatever quarter it may have come: firstly, a desire to destroy or circumscribe the spiritual and social influence which St. Thomas of Canterbury, during those centuries, had notoriously exercised; and secondly, a sincere wish to secure the vast and costly treasures of that saint's much-venerated shrine.

Throughout England in an especial manner, as well as throughout the whole of Western Christendom, the archbishop's name and deeds were held sacred,[8]—for he was properly regarded and

[8] Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury under Henry VIII., evidently had a deep veneration for his great predecessor St. Thomas; for immediately before his death (as Harpesfield relates) "He charged upon his blessing the right worshipful Sir William Warham, Knt., his nephew and godson, being then a young gentleman and waiting upon him in his chamber, that if ever after his death any should succeed in that see called 'Thomas,' he should in no wise serve him, or seek his

venerated as the martyr of national liberty and ecclesiastical independence. In the contest between the Church and the Crown, he had fought the battle; and, in dying, had conquered. Even some of the most "Liberal" historians have asked that justice should be done to one of the most remarkable English prelates of mediæval times. For it is notorious that when King Henry II., amongst other new and unprecedented propositions, maintained that clerks-in-orders should be tried for felony before the tribunals of the king's Courts, he certainly violated the then existing constitution of the country.

St. Thomas of Canterbury in the conflict fell; and became a great defender of the Church's spiritual privileges and independence; because he firmly and persistently declined to withdraw an excommunication which he had pronounced against three prelates whom he could not pardon without directly exposing himself to the spiritual censures of the Apostolic See. The distinct and

favour or acquaintance; for there shall (saith he) one of that name shortly enjoy this see, that shall as much by his vicious living as wicked heresies, dishonour, waste, and destroy the same, and the whole Church of England, as ever the blessed bishop and martyr, St. Thomas, did before beautify, bless, ordain, and honour the same. This I heard not long since out of the mouth of the said Sir William who yet liveth." Harpesfield's "Treatise of Marriage," lib. ii. p. 97. And the same prophetic utterance is recorded in that writer's *Hist. Eccl. Angl.* p. 623.

important privileges which had been granted to the Church of England by *Magna Charta* demanded from him, the Primate of all England, a distinct and firm resistance of the novel position of the king—the promoter of the Constitutions of Clarendon, whose Articles, when carefully examined, are seen to be an outrageous attempt against the reasonable and proper liberty of the subject.

On April 24th, 1538, the Attorney-General was instructed to commence formal proceedings against Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, and the following magniloquent summons [9] was placed upon his tomb :—

" Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church of England, By the tenor of These Presents, We cite thee, Thomas, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury, to appear before Our sovereign Council, to answer for the causes of thy death ; for thy scandals committed

[9] Dean Stanley in his " Historical Memorials of Canterbury " seems to imply that this was merely a rumour or report. He writes, " On the 24th of April, 1538 (such at any rate was the story *reported* all over the continent of Europe), a summons was addressed," &c. Again he writes, " Such at least was the *belief* at Rome," pp. 197, 198 : London, 1855. There is abundant authority for the facts, not rumours and reports, set forth in the text above. In fact the king himself alludes to this process against the remains of the dead in one of his Royal Proclamations.—See Wilkins' " Concilia," tom. iii. 848.

against the kings Our predecessors : for thine insolence in arrogating to thyself the title of 'Martyr,' since thou sufferedst rather as a rebel against the king, thy Lord and Master, than as a defender of the Catholic Faith ; and for thy disobedience to the laws of sovereign prince and judge as We are in matters ecclesiastical. And as thy crimes were committed against that Regal Majesty with which We likewise are invested, We now summon thee to receive thy sentence. If no one duly authorized appear in thy defence, judgment will be passed according to the laws of the land.

"At London : April 24th, 1538."

Never, perhaps, in the whole history of legal processes, was such an absurd and ridiculous document issued. The legal wits of the time, sharpened by the comments of some men in high authority, are said to have made themselves merry over its palpable and patent absurdities. This fact, however, exercised no influence over those who had conceived the idea of drawing it up and acting on it. They were too markedly bent upon their two-fold scheme, either to relax or relent.

So that, after an interval of thirty days, given to St. Thomas to provide advocates and to prepare his defence, the case was actually called on for trial, before judges who may be presumed to have kept their countenances only with difficulty.

It is needless to put on record the fact that St. Thomas did not rise from his shrine and put in

an appearance. In order, therefore, that neither the legal wits nor the observant public should be able to say that the condemnation of the Archbishop (which, of course, had been already resolved on "for divers good and weighty reasons") had taken place without a hearing, the king appointed a counsellor to appear for the cited saint.

The court met at Westminster on the 11th of June for the formal acting of this unsolemn and senseless legal farce.[1] It was with difficulty that those who were specially engaged in it could keep from smiling. The crown lawyers of course did their best to defend the policy and conduct of Henry II., endeavouring to prove that the Constitutions of Clarendon were just and righteous: and that St. Thomas was proud, contumacious, and rebellious, in opposing them: that, moreover, the murderers of the saint had unquestionably acted as good servants and faithful subjects of their sovereign the king, and had in fact performed a righteous and meritorious deed in ridding the kingdom of a notorious disturber of the king's peace, and a traitor.

The counsel whom the king had appointed to

[1] Several Liberal and Protestant writers of history have endeavoured to deny this act of folly. But the proofs of it are too many and too certain to enable them to do so with truth. In fact, Pope Paul III., in the Bull *Cum Redemptor noster*, dated 17th December, 1538, publicly and pointedly held up these profane and irreligious proceedings to the well-deserved execration of Christendom.

represent the inculpated archbishop prudently held his tongue. As he was utterly unable to refute the novel but grave charges made against his client, silence was obviously his wisest policy. The king and Cromwell, therefore, easily had their own way. All the carefully-made arrangements had thus turned out as it was intended they should; and the saint was in due course publicly condemned for contumacy and other transgressions.

It was formally maintained and put on record, with due verbosity, that as "Thomas à Becket," (as he was termed in the proceedings) had neither come forward in person to disavow, nor had his counsel been able to repel, the grave charges of rebellion, contumacy, and treason, against the king, with which he was charged; and seeing, moreover, that during the archbishop's life upon earth he had sorely and severely troubled the kingdom, endeavouring to infringe on the authority of the king's royal predecessors, and that in consequence thereof he had been put to death, he could not possibly have died either for the honour of God or for the good of Holy Church; and seeing, furthermore, that all sovereignty in the Church belongs of Divine right to the king, and not to the Bishop of Rome,[2] or any

[2] The Act concerning Peter's-pence and dispensations (25 Henry VIII. cap. 21) not only swept away all accustomed payments to the See of Rome, but forbad any subjects of the

other prelate or prelates as Thomas à Becket had wrongfully and falsely stated; and seeing, too, that the people in general erroneously looked upon him as a martyr, and venerated him for maintaining the unlawful authority of the spiritualty in general, and of the Church of Rome in particular, and in order, consequently, that such heinous crimes should not go unpunished,—that the ignorant might be led to acknowledge their errors, and, being illuminated, might cease to be the victims of abuses introduced into the kingdom,—the "above-named Thomas, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, shall henceforth cease to bear the title of martyr or saint,"—that all images and representations of him in churches should be forthwith removed,[3] that his name should be

realm to sue to the Pope for any "licences, dispensations, compositions, faculties," &c., enacting that such "shall be henceforth granted to the sovereign and his subjects by the Archbishop of Canterbury;"—from which the Rev. J. H. Blunt gathers that "spiritual jurisdiction is thus transferred from the Pope to the Archbishop." But, as no Dispensation, &c., was to be of force until the archbishop had obtained a licence from the crown to grant it, it is not easy to avoid the inevitable conclusion that the king had practically bestowed the Pope's jurisdiction upon himself.

[3] The formal Royal Proclamation of November 16, 1538, ran thus:—"His images and pictures through the whole realm shall be put down and avoided out of all churches, chapels, and other places; and from henceforth the days used to be festival in his name shall not be observed, nor the service, office, antiphons, collects and prayers in his name read; but razed and

speedily erased from all prayer-books, litanies, missals, and kalendars, and that he stand most properly and righteously convicted of treason, perjury, and rebellion.

The practical part of the sentence then followed. The archbishop's bones were ordered to be taken out of his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral and publicly burnt, so that the living might thus learn from this legal chastisement of the departed to respect and regard the godly and gracious laws of the king and dutifully acknowledge his Grace's supreme spiritual authority. No doubt these proceedings, absurd though they were, had some effect in teaching them the lesson.

During the month of September, 1538, Dr. John Layton, one of Cromwell's monastic inquisitors, and some of his officers, arrived at Canterbury with a strong guard of soldiers to carry out the sentence. Of the actual work of demolition no records exist. No doubt it was the deliberate

put out of all the books, ... upon pain of his Majesty's indignation and imprisonment at his Grace's pleasure."—Burnet's "Records," edited by Rev. N. Pocock, vi. pp. 220—222. "We forbid," concluded the "Process against Thomas Becket," "*under pain of death and confiscation*, any of our subjects henceforward to honour him as a saint, address to him their prayers, carry his relics, honour him directly or indirectly; in default of which any one found guilty shall be considered as a conspirator against our royal person, or as an abettor and accomplice of revolt." It cannot be wondered at, therefore, that so few traces of this truly great man remain unto the present day.

intention of those who planned the shrine's destruction, as well as of those who personally superintended the operation, that no records of what they did *should* exist. Anyhow, the grilles around were removed, the shrine was hewn down, the coffer actually containing the relics broken open, the bones of the saint (as some say) were deliberately burnt, or as others declare, contemptuously and profanely mingled indiscriminately with other bones. The precious metal and jewels of the shrine and its cover were torn off from the wood, heaped together in two strong coffers, and then borne away upon the shoulders of eight or ten strong men. A brilliant of great size and worth, which Louis, King of France, had given to St. Thomas, was appropriated by King Henry himself, who is said to have worn it (in accordance with the fashion of the times) in a large thumb-ring on his right hand. For the rich spoils in general no less than six and twenty carts stood in the cathedral-yard to carry away the general ornaments and valuable gifts from the various spots of interest and of the treasury aumbries. Nothing bearing on the martyr's memory, save a half-defaced picture on panel and a few fragments of glass, was allowed to remain. Even the arms of the city and of the cathedral were purposely altered, because in them hitherto his death and triumph had been long commemorated. Moreover, an Order in Council was soon afterwards put forth,

annexing that portion of the old crypt where the saint had first been buried to the house of residence of the senior canon of the newly-erected chapter, who used it as a wine-cellar. Scarcely a known fragment or shred of the shrine remains. The altar of the chapel, consecrated to God the Trinity, and all its appurtenances are gone too. The battered and patched floor is level after a fashion, the sanctuary empty, the place deserted.

A contrast between what we know of this spot's glorious past, its light and life; and of what the devout Christian, visiting the dreary place, lampless and altar-less, may see in the present, might lead to the conviction that here, in the chapel of the Adorable Trinity, where neither worshippers gather, nor prayer is heard, nor praise ascends, nor sacrifice is offered, the Abomination of Desolation had found a permanent home in the most sacred part of a Christian temple.

There still exist some very interesting relics of St. Thomas in the chapel of the English College at Rome, named after him. Others are preserved in the treasury of the beautiful Basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore, in the same city. In the church dedicated in honour of the saint at Verona, one of his teeth is preserved; and a part of his arm in a jewelled reliquary, at a convent in Florence. The writer of these lines owns a circular silver reliquary,[4] inscribed, *Sancte Thoma Cantuar, ora pro nobis*, with

[4] See Appendix No. IV.

a duly-authenticated relic of the saint, which was brought from Rome. At Sens, one set of vestments in which St. Thomas officiated are carefully treasured up. His mitre, of beautiful workmanship, brought from Sens, is now in the keeping of H. E. Cardinal Manning, at the "Archbishop's House," Westminster.[5] The church of St. Thomas in the City of London, the site of which is now occupied by the hall of the Mercers' Company, marked the place of à Becket's birth, and formed by consequence a special place of recognition in the annual procession of the Lord Mayor, which anciently always passed that interesting spot year by year. The hospital of St. Thomas, in the borough of Southwark—from the funds of which vast new buildings have been erected opposite the Houses of Parliament—was also dedicated to God in honour of the Martyr of Canterbury. In England between sixty and seventy churches were dedicated in his name (the first erected by Richard de Lucy, the Justiciary, in 1178),—amongst these a low and picturesque building, a parish church, on the outskirts of Oxford, near the site of the renowned Osney Abbey. In the church of St. Michael in that city there also still remains in a window of ancient glass, a rare representation of him, in his pontificals,—rare, because the destruction of all such was as unique as it was universal at the Reformation era.

[5] See Appendix No. IV.

Many English churches in ancient times, owned either primary or secondary relics of St. Thomas. Drops of his blood were preserved and venerated at the Collegiate Chapel of St. George, Windsor, at Taunton, the Abbey of Peterborough, and the Prebendal Church of Thame. Portions of his rochet, stained with his blood, were treasured up at St. Alban's Abbey, and at the Abbey of Bermondsey. At Chester the girdle of one his albs was shown to pilgrims. The parish church of Alnwick, in the county of Northumberland, owned a standing-cup and cover, with the martyr's monogram engraved upon its side. There were relics of him, likewise (mainly parts of various official dresses sometimes worn by him), at Brill, in Buckinghamshire, where, more than once, he held a court as primate; at Ely, at Exeter, and at York. Part of his blood was preserved at Woodspring Priory, in Somersetshire.[6] There were two altars

[6] A very remarkable discovery with regard to this relic was made in the year 1852, during the carrying on of certain repairs and improvements at Woodspring Church. In this parish a priory, of which the present church was the conventual chapel, had been founded by William de Courtenay, (presumed to have been the grandson of Tracy, one of the murderers of the archbishop), in the year 1210. To this religious house Alice Le Bret (granddaughter of another of the murderers) left certain lands, so as to merit the protection and intercession of St. Thomas (Collinson's "History of Somersetshire," vol. iii. p 543). In the year first mentioned above, there was discovered in a hollow recess in the wall, behind a defaced image of the saint, a ciborium or cup, presumably of boxwood, containing a

formerly at the Abbey of Peterborough, made from fragments of the pavement of St. Benedict's chapel, at Canterbury, which Brother Benedict, sometime a monk of Christ Church in that city, and afterwards Abbot of Peterborough, had carried off. A portion of St. Thomas's skull was also obtained by the authorities of the Abbey of St. Augustine at Canterbury, not long after his martyrdom.

And now, with brevity, to sum up. If the proposals of King Henry II. had been accepted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the relations of Church and State would have then become very much what the lust and tyranny of Henry VIII. made them after the sixteenth century. But the Primate resisted, and resisted even unto death. Around his name and passion angry controversialists have

dried red substance which competent persons pronounced to have been blood. The possession of this treasure had anciently given such renown to the priory, that a representation of this actual vessel was put upon both the official seal of the house and the personal seals of some of the priors. My accomplished friend, the late Rev. Thomas Hugo, sometime Rector of West Hackney, who was an unusually competent archæologist, was so satisfied of the genuineness of the relic, that having secured a small portion he took it to Rome with him, and (as a token of personal respect) presented it to the late Holy Father, Pope Pius IX. His holiness received it with interest and gratitude, but at once, with his accustomed beautiful smile, remarked upon the absence of needful guarantees for its due authentication. The curious reader may find more on the subject of this discovery at pp. 400 *et seq.* of the fourth volume of "The Journal of the Archæological Institute."

recently gathered. But those earnest souls—unattracted by the frivolous speculations of historical novelists, or the distasteful labours of mere literary scavengers—who, knowing that the spheres of the spiritual and the temporal are distinct,[7] are not prepared to give the things of God to Cæsar, will look back with reverence and thoughtfulness for the victory consummated in the northern transept of Christ Church, seven centuries ago, and never forget the name and work of our greatest and most glorious English martyr.

[7] See Appendix No. IV.

No. V.

THE DEATH OF RICHARD WHITING, ABBOT OF GLASTONBURY, NOV. 14TH, 1539.

"THE caprice of a despot cost this island, formerly known as the *Insula Sanctorum*, rivers of blood and tears. It is truly melancholy to relate how imprisonment, hunger, misery, the halter and the stake, became the lot of the representatives of those cœnobites who brought under cultivation the untilled lands of the three kingdoms, enclosed the rivers within their channels, made the roads, threw bridges over the rivers, built churches, founded hospitals, taught the children to read, preached the Gospel to adults, promoted science and literature, and (as the Scripture says), 'caused a ray of light to shine among people who were walking in the shadow of death.'"—AUDIN.

No. V.

THE DEATH OF RICHARD WHITING, ABBOT OF GLASTONBURY, NOVEMBER 14TH, 1539.

THE town of Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, one of the highest antiquity, is situated in a marshy tract of land which the ancient Britons called "Avalon," or "the land of apples." Subsequently it received a Saxon designation, viz. implying "the glassy island" or "burg," which, with but a slight change, it retains to the present day. The origin of the place is involved in much obscurity, and it is not at all easy to separate its authentic from its legendary history. That it was one of the most ancient stations of Christianity in the West of England seems probable.

Independent of a somewhat doubtful passage in the writings of Gildas, the British monk of the sixth century, it seems almost certain that the light of Christianity was diffused in our island as

early as the apostolic age. St. Clement of Rome asserts that St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, "carried the Gospel to the extreme bounds of the West," a phrase used by other writers, where they evidently intended to designate and describe Britain. St. Peter, St. Joseph of Arimathea, Aristobulus, and some other contemporaries of the Apostles themselves, are named, but with less probability, as having taken part in the conversion of Britain.[1] The British Church, however, is not unfrequently spoken of by Christian writers of the third and fourth centuries; while some of the bishops are known to have signed the Decrees of the Council of Arles, A.D. 314.

During the Diocletian persecution the Christian population of the island was numerous; and, when the Romans retired from it, they left behind them a considerable body of Christians in various parts, tainted sorely, however, by the heresies of Pelagius. Sculptured crosses, ancient oratories, the names of saints of this period still retained in the designation of places and spots of ecclesiastical interest, in Wales, Cornwall, Cumberland, and other parts, all tell of the impression which the Christian

[1] It is said that Pope Eleutherius, twelfth in succession to St. Peter, sent to the Britains Fugateus and Damian, by whom Lucius, King of Britain, and many others were baptized. Anyhow, Tertullian, who lived so near to the period referred to, wrote thus:—"Et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita." (Adversus Judæos, cap. 7.)

religion had made in certain extreme portions of Britain. The Cornish saints of the west, still remembered and venerated, the bishopricks of Caerleon and Llandaff, are likewise evidences of the fact that there were living representatives of some organized form of Christianity existing at a very early age.

As regards Glastonbury, chiefly distinguished for its celebrated Abbey, it is said to have been the first resting-place of Joseph of Arimathea, whom St. Philip, one of our Lord's Apostles, had personally commissioned to bring the glad tidings of salvation to Britain; and who, with several companions, having arrived at the island of Avalon, rested on a small eminence situated about half a mile to the south-west of the present town, still called "Weary-all Hill."

For generations the Abbey of Glastonbury stood a blessing to those lands. It was a house where God was daily and hourly worshipped with honour, recollectedness, and devotion; and was a refuge and retreat where men served their Maker with piety and labour. Before the death and martyrdom of its last saintly abbot is narrated, some brief history of this important and renowned religious house must be given.

In several ancient charters, extracts reproduced from still more ancient charters, record the fact that "the fountain and origin of all religion in Britain" belongs of right to Glastonbury; and it

is implied in some of them that a small church or chapel was actually erected there in honour of God the Trinity by St. Joseph of Arimathea and his companions.

Tradition affirms that when this had fallen into decay, Devi, Bishop of Menevia, rebuilt it on the same spot, possibly in the style of the rude oratories and chapels of the northern coasts of Cornwall. Again, when this building in turn became dilapidated, it was restored at the cost of some Christian pilgrims from the north of England.

St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, who is said to have spent nearly thirty years of his life in the house of Glastonbury, having first formed the brethren living near and about it into a regular community, gave considerable impetus in England to the monastic life, which had fallen into desuetude soon after the death of Lucius, the first Christian king.

About the year A.D. 530, St. David, Archbishop of Menevia, with seven of his suffragans, is said to have retired to Glastonbury, and greatly improved the church,—to the east end of which he added a chapel for Our Blessed Lady, and, amongst other considerable offerings, enriched the altar with a sapphire of great value.

The celebrated King Arthur, who is supposed to have flourished in the early part of the sixth century, was the king of this part of Britain.

Caradoc of Llancarvan mentions him as a petty prince of Somersetshire; whilst Nennius attributes to him triumphs over the Saxons in almost every part of the island; but it is only in the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth that we read of his marvellous conquests abroad,—many of which appear extravagant and are possibly fabulous. It seems probable, however, that King Arthur, A.D. 520, gained a decisive victory over the Saxons at Caer-Badon, which some hold to be Bath, and that he met his death in the field, opposed by his nephew Modred, about the year A.D. 540.

Tradition asserts that King Henry II. ordered a search to be made for King Arthur's tomb, and that a rude leaden cross with a Latin inscription was found, running thus :—

"Here lyeth the renouned King Arthur, buried in the Esle of Avalon."

Beneath this, in the solid rock, was a coffin-like recess, in which the bones of a man were certainly discovered; and which then, with appropriate rites, were reburied in the monastery church under a suitable and sumptuous monument, often referred to by later historians and writers.

St. Augustine of Canterbury is said to have visited Glastonbury, with the intention of introducing the Rule of St. Benedict, but without success.

During the Saxon Heptarchy, this religious

house was much favoured by successive monarchs. Ina of Wessex, a warlike but devout king (A.D. 708) is said to have taken down certain buildings which were much dilapidated, and to have rebuilt them for the greater honour of God, on a much larger scale, and in a style of superior character and dignity. Twenty years later he died at Rome. In the year 942, St. Dunstan, born of noble parents in Wessex, was, at the age of twenty-two, appointed Abbot of Glastonbury, by King Edmund. When still a youth he had gone into seclusion there. A prelate of birth, learning, and ability, he devoted himself zealously to ecclesiastical and monastic reforms; was the prime minister respectively of Edmund I., Edred, and Edgar, and administered the Abbey of Glastonbury with great power and success. He enlarged the buildings, and improved the lands, gathering round him able coadjutors; so that under his governance, the abbey, blessing hundreds within the shadow of its walls, and benefiting thousands beyond its confines,[2] became the "Pride of England," as it was termed, and the glory of Christendom."

[2] Of the value of the monastic principle, an impartial and graceful writer thus gives his judgment:—"A community of pious men, devoted to literature and to the useful arts as well as to religion, seems in those days like a green oasis amid the desert. Like stars on a moonless night, they shine upon us with a tranquil ray. If ever there was a man who could truly be called 'Venerable,' it was he to whom the appellation is constantly fixed, Bede, whose life was passed in instructing his

King Edgar, acting under the advice of St. Dunstan, preserved his states from war, favoured the restoration and improvement of religious houses, and greatly patronized the monastic rule. He had a palace within two miles of Glastonbury, in a beautilful situation, at a place still called Edgarsleigh, a hamlet of the parish of St. John. Some remains of the palace existed at the beginning of the present century; in which were to be seen some very ancient memorials, consisting of a few rude carvings; with later heraldic ornaments to commemorate the royal founder and builder of it.

The Abbots of Glastonbury, certainly from the time of St. Dunstan, possibly from a still earlier period, exercised within the domain of the Island of Avalon, the dignity of sovereign. Into their territory neither king nor prelate could enter without permission. Mitred, and owning perfect jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, they sat

own generation, and preparing records for posterity. In those days, the Church offered the only asylum from the evils to which every country was exposed—amidst continual wars the Church enjoyed peace—it was regarded as a sacred realm by men, who, though they hated one another, believed in and feared the same God. Abused as it was by the worldly-minded and ambitious, and disgraced by the artifices of the designing, and the follies of the fanatic, it afforded a shelter to those who were better than the world in their youth or weary of it in their age. The wise, as well as the timid and gentle fled to this Goshen of God, which enjoyed its own light and calm amidst darkness and storms."—*Quarterly Review*, December, 1811.

as barons of parliament, and enjoyed revenues superior to that of almost all the abbeys in the kingdom.

At the conquest King William, as a matter of state policy, seriously curtailed the powers of all the abbots, unjustly exacting large tributes from them, and depriving them of certain of their privileges; in some cases going so far as to seize upon their possessions. At Glastonbury he imposed on the monks an abbot of his own nomination; who, however, voluntarily retired after a short tenure of the office. Under his successor several estates which had been taken away were restored. Under the abbacy of Henry de Blois, the abbey regained much of its ancient power, fame, and importance.

In the year 1184 a considerable portion of the abbey was destroyed by a disastrous fire, but was rebuilt under the patronage, and with the approval, of Henry II., who granted the abbots a new charter, in which all, or almost all, the privileges which had been bestowed by previous monarchs were solemnly and formally confirmed, and some new privileges added.

From this time up to the period of the changes under Henry VIII., the Abbey of Glastonbury flourished marvellously. It is certain that there were sometimes vigorous disputes between the Bishops of Wells and the monks as regards the appointment of abbot; the bishops desiring to

secure for themselves certain authority, and the officers and chiefs of the community, who were ruling over an institution which was extra-diocesan, resolving to maintain their ancient and legitimate spiritual independence. Otherwise the abbey was at peace, and the work steadily and duly performed within its walls, for several centuries, was done for the honour and glory of God, and for the good of the souls of men.

It may be well to set forth at some length a record of some of the practical works which were done within the sacred walls of all our ancient, but now destroyed, religious houses; in order that a true conception of the frightful work of destruction effected by Henry VIII. at Glastonbury, immediately after Abbot Whiting's death may be had and realized.

And, firstly, as regards the influence of the abbeys on literature, and the important contributions of their inmates to its progress and influence. In every such house there was a large and important room called the "Scriptorium," where the most competent and accomplished monks made it their whole business to transcribe books for the use of the library. MSS. which one abbey possessed were lent to another, in return for books which they wanted: and, when these were copied, others were in like manner exchanged for a similar purpose, written bonds being sometimes given for their due return. For all property was held in trust.

Some writers transcribed steadily the works of the Fathers, treatises on Theology, Morals, and History. Others devoted their time to producing copies of the Missal, Pontifical, Manual, and such like volumes, for the actual services of the sanctuary. As examples of this it is on record that long before printing came into use, John Whethampstead, Abbot of St. Alban's, caused more than eighty books to be thus transcribed during the period in which he ruled over that house. At Notley Abbey, in Buckinghamshire, just before the Reformation, there was a scribe of great ability and repute, William Forrest, who supplied service-books for many churches in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, and repaired old ones when damaged. His skill and reputation were recognized in parishes and places as much as fifty miles and more from the sacred sanctuary, in which for a whole lifetime he lived and laboured.

At Glastonbury Abbey, during the reign of one superior, no less than fifty-eight books were completed. In truth, so zealous were the monks in general for this important detail of their general work, and so anxious to benefit the communities of which they were members, that they frequently induced their lay friends and patrons to give lands and benefactions in money for such particular labours.

Then, as regards the history of this people and nation, let the most ancient and important records

be consulted, and they are found to be from the pen of maligned monks or ecclesiastics. The chronicle of Evesham, the historical works of Gildas, the poem of Ethelwolf, the chronicle of Richard of Wendover, the yearly records of Ramsey Abbey, and those made by John Abbot of Peterborough, with many others of even greater repute, all aid in our historical researches of the present day. Their writers, be it remembered, were religious. Without such the past would have been like shapeless clouds drifting in dull and deepening mists. Adhelm, Bishop of Sherbourne, Edmund of Haddenham, John Brompton, Abbot of Jervaux, Henry of Huntingdon, Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St. Paul's, London, Peter Langtoft, Canon of Bridlington, Thomas of Elmham, and William Thorne, of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, each and all contributed to the preservation of interesting facts, and to the record on monastic vellum of important events for which we, of these later times, cannot be too grateful.

These men, and such as these, preserved and treasured up memorials and personal recollections, exquisitely written and suitably adorned and illuminated, of their founders and benefactors. The "Books of Donors" belonging to the destroyed religious houses, just as the "Liber Benefactorum" of every college and hall of Oxford and Cambridge of the present day, recorded

something concerning the benevolent giver as well as concerning the munificent gift. Brief memoirs of the friends and patrons of the house, with an account of their crenellated mansions, or pleasant manors, the years and days of their births, deaths, and obits, their weddings, children, and successors, were duly preserved; so that recourse was frequently had to such authoritative records and memoirs, for proving before judges the genealogies of families and the descents of their various members.

Furthermore: written copies, properly authenticated, of the Constitutions and Canons of the Clergy, whether settled and determined in National, Provincial, or Diocesan Synods, were sent to the more influential and leading monasteries, "for a perpetual memorial of the thing," as the phrase ran, and for general reference; while, after the Conquest, a custom said to have been borrowed from the other side of the British Channel, even Acts of Parliament and Royal Proclamations were supplied to the abbeys, to be recorded and preserved.

The wanton and wicked destruction of such important literary treasures under Henry VIII., may be still deeply regretted; but its extent can never be known, nor can the loss sustained by posterity be adequately measured.

The malignity and hatred displayed by King Henry the Eighth's Commissioners against those

more conservative and consistent abbots and heads of monastic houses who declined to resign their possessions without trouble or ado, was marked and sincere. Some, either through weakness or bribes, had done so. At Stamford the heads both of the Carmelites and Franciscans had unconditionally surrendered their trusts, and had been rewarded by pensions for their treachery. The monks of Chertsey in Surrey, whose annual revenue was about 10,000*l.*, fearing a confiscation and butchery, did the same, and were pensioned likewise. Others followed their examples. But some of the most influential abbots, amongst whom was the aged and venerated Richard Whiting, of Glastonbury, having received a trust, were resolved to hand it on unimpaired, neither bent before the storm, nor swam with the tide.

Why should they? These ancient houses, many of them older than the time of the Norman Conquest, some dating from the days of St. Austin, were of great practical use and benefit to the nation. Putting aside altogether their intrinsic importance as houses of the Most High God, where the worship of the Adorable Trinity was regularly carried on all day and every day, and where the doctrine of God manifest in the flesh was presented for the practical acceptance of all ranks of the faithful; these monasteries, even from the low standing-point of a common-place nineteenth-century utilitarian, were of the highest

value to all classes of the people. And this for several reasons.

1. The choicest records, charters, and treasures in the kingdom were preserved in the monasteries. For example: a copy of the Great Charter of liberty granted by King Henry I. was sent to some one abbey in each of the counties of England for preservation. Charters and ancient inquisitions relating to the county of Cornwall, of deep importance to families dwelling there, were deposited in Bodmin Priory; others concerning lands in the Midland Counties were lodged in the abbey of Leicester and the priory of Kenilworth. It is on record, furthermore, that King Edward I. sent to religious houses to search for his title, or supposed title, to the kingdom of Scotland, in their leger books, as the most authentic records of his proof on behalf and in support of his presumed right to the crown. When in 1301 that same king had temporarily decided the controversy between Robert Bruce and John Balliol, he commanded the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, London, to enter in their book of current events and important deeds a record of the settlement of that controversy. Charters, legal instruments, and family records were likewise sent to those monastic houses, in which certain families owned and took a special interest; while the matrices of the seals of the nobility and gentry were deposited there on their deaths.

2. Monasteries were schools of learning and education. Every such house had "discreet and learned persons, apt to teach," appointed for this purpose. All the neighbours who desired it might have their children taught grammar and plain song, the appointed music of the Church, without either fee or reward. Freely the monks had received, and, in accordance with the Christian injunction, freely they gave. In the convents and religious houses for women, poor girls were taught to work with the needle, to read English, and sometimes Latin also. So that not only the lower rank of people, whose members could not pay for their education, were taught, but the daughters of those of noble, knightly, and gentle rank were educated in those places. This had been the case at Glastonbury, for youths, at the time of its dissolution, from time immemorial. Under Abbot Whiting no less than three hundred sons of the nobility and gentle-people of the West of England were being educated within the precincts of his house, and payment was made for the privilege ; while, on the other hand, youths of a lower rank were gratuitously taken and supported with the same object, as a preparation for the work and discipline of the Universities. In this way the ranks of the English clergy were for many centuries abundantly and efficiently supplied.

3. Practically and in effect, a majority of the old monasteries were great hospitals. Most of

them were compelled by their rules, in this particular stringently observed, to relieve a certain number of outcast and poor people every day. Crowds came consequently seeking alms and food, and none were sent away empty. Glastonbury was famous for its alms-giving, and this upon a scale of which we, in these modern days of workhouses, anti-mendicity societies, and Charity-organization Funds, have little conception. Monasteries—like that of the Great St. Bernard on the Alps, at the present period—were likewise houses of entertainment for almost all travellers. Even the nobility and gentry, when moving from place to place, lodged for the night at one religious house, dined at another, and supped at a third; leaving at each liberal alms, voluntarily given, in return for their respective privileges. In truth, the hospitality of the monasteries, to give a single example, was such that in the Priory of Norwich no less than one thousand five hundred quarters of malt, and above eight hundred quarters of wheat, with all other things in proportion, are said to have been generally spent every year.

4. The nobility and gentry provided not only for their old servants in these houses, by giving considerable sums of money, in one amount, or by yearly gifts, to pay for their clothing, food, and necessaries, when unable any longer to work; but often, also, made provision for those of their younger children who desired "to enter religion"

(as the phrase stood), making them monks and nuns. The Abbey of Glastonbury, being one of the most ancient, was in this particular likewise one of the most popular and patronized; for a considerable number of persons of rank and family were members of it, or had thus secured a retreat and refuge within its walls prior to the Dissolution.

5. Religious houses, furthermore, were of considerable advantage to the Crown of England, firstly, by the profits received from the period of the death of one abbot or prior to the time of the formal confirmation of their respective successors; secondly, by considerable fines paid from time to time for the confirmation of their ancient liberties; and, thirdly, by many corrodies granted to old servants of the Crown, and pensions to the king's clerks and chaplains until they had secured preferment.

6. The whole country round about the larger monastic houses, moreover, directly and obviously benefited by their existence; while the smaller monasteries in proportion were of considerable advantage to the adjacent places; and they were certainly great ornaments to the country. Many villages and towns grew up by degrees around or adjacent to them. They became centres of life both religious and social. Fairs and markets were often obtained by the influence and intervention of the abbots or rulers; and exemption from the too harsh forest laws was secured for the poor inha-

bitants of particular localities. The monastic lands were ordinarily let to tenants at a reasonable rate, who were not ground down by their landlords. The monks who so let them, could possess no private property, they could save no money for themselves personally; only for the behoof and general good of the community. They could bequeath nothing to individuals. They had a life interest in their estates and nothing more. They lived, received and expended in common; and historians unite in asserting that they were not only reputed to be, but were good landlords; and that the people were contented and happy under their rule, and thoroughly appreciated it.

7. The monasteries, moreover, in some of the most important of human affairs, caused that *fixedness*, which is so much the friend of rectitude in morals, and which, as Experience teaches, so directly and powerfully conduces both to public and private prosperity. In a century like the present, of constant, heedless, and unceasing change, this can scarcely be comprehended, much less appreciated by some. But the principle of fixedness is nevertheless good and profitable, and was anciently rife with advantages. As has been so well and forcibly remarked by an able and shrewd writer,—"The monastery was a proprietor that *never died*; its tenantry had to do with a deathless landlord; its lands and houses never changed owners; its tenants were liable to none

of the uncertainties that other tenants were; its oaks had never to tremble at the axe of the squandering heir; its manors had not to dread a change of lords; its villagers had all been bred up under its eye and care; their character was of necessity a thing of great value, and as such would naturally be an object of great attention. A monastery was the centre of a circle in the country, naturally drawing to it all that were in need of relief, advice and protection; and containing a body of men, or of women, having no cares of their own, and having wisdom to guide the inexperienced, and wealth to relieve the distressed."

Such a place was the great and important Abbey of Glastonbury,—a blessing and benefit to thousands—even up to the autumn of the year 1539. At that time the lesser houses were all suppressed. This had been done in 1534 and the succeeding year. No less than three hundred and seventy-six small houses,—those estimated at less than 200*l.* a year in value,—had, as houses of religion, been utterly destroyed; their inmates scattered,—some legally murdered, others imprisoned and tortured, for not recognizing the Supreme Head; others sent back to their families with a small and inadequate pension; others, again, dismissed to beg or starve, to be flogged, branded, and mutilated, and then left to die on the road-side.

But, for the present, certain of the greater

abbeys managed somehow or other to hold their ground. Their abbots were mitred and lords of Parliament; and deservedly owned great influence in the counties where their houses stood. High and low, with good reason, respected them sincerely. The charges of misgovernment, disorder, and immorality which had been brought against certain inmates of the lesser houses, had no foundation in fact as concerned the greater. Even Parliament had admitted this to be true before the whole country, and had deliberately and officially put it on record in a recent Act.[3]

With reference to Glastonbury, Dr. Layton, one of the Royal Inquisitors, wrote thus to his master, Cromwell:—"At Bruton and Glastonbury *there is nothing notable; the brethren be so strait kept that they cannot offend;* but fain they would if they might, as they confess; and so the fault is not in them." This latter unfounded and disgraceful insinuation, it may be noted in passing, is worthy of its author.[4]

[3] The exact words were—". . . . divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm wherein (thanks be to God) *religion is right well kept and observed*,"—and they occur in an Act of Parliament which legalized the suppression of the lesser houses.

[4] Of Dr. John Layton, who was a priest, and had it appears been sometime Clerk of the Council, the Oxford antiquary, Antony à Wood, records that "he did much to please the unlimited desire of the king," which, translated into plain English, means that he was such a reverend and most successful panderer to Henry the Eighth's gross immoralities, that he was

But though the greater monasteries were allowed, even by the enemies of the system, to be doing their work wisely, well, and profitably for the nation, it was resolved by Thomas Cromwell, the king's chief adviser, to suppress them likewise. Their funds, valuables, manors, and lands were sorely needed for Court purposes, and therefore, somehow or other, under one pretext, if not under another, these must be had. All opposition, consequently, must be either overborne or crushed out. The stroke must be at once swift, sudden, and powerful. Bribery, discreetly done, with promises of a share in their spoils, would surely do much to disarm opposition, and buy off those great people thereabouts who might be indisposed to sanction their suppression. Their ablest defenders and most notorious partizans must be efficiently overawed and put aside, or else success could never be attained.

So those in authority acted; and this is what was done at Glastonbury, where Richard Whiting was the Lord Abbot.

On a certain autumnal morning, towards the end of September, A.D. 1539, the Royal Inquisitors, Richard Layton, Richard Pollard, and Henry Moyle, attended by servants and halberdiers, presented themselves, armed with their commission,

made Dean of York, where he pawned the cathedral plate. See, concerning this person, various letters in "Suppression of the Monasteries" (Camden Society), pp. 58, 59, 75, *et seq.*

signed and sealed, at the abbey gateway. No notice had been given of their advent. They at once inquired for the abbot, an old man, deeply respected, eighty years of age, long known for his great personal piety, simple life, devout habits, and large-hearted hospitality. He, however, was away, as they were informed by the porter, at an outlying official residence known as "Sharpham," more than a mile distant.

Thither they hurried at once, and there found him in his private room. After some brief preliminaries—for he was reasonably astonished, both at their coming and at their intrusion—they proceeded to examine him according to their authority and custom. Plied with all kinds of questions, their character being sufficiently indicated in the comprehensive "Articles of Visitation," put out by authority, the aged abbot could only give short and simple answers, which were anything but satisfactory to his inquisitive questioners. For from such, all so reasonable and simple, they could learn nothing by which they might legally entangle and entrap him. On certain subjects he appears to have known nothing, and consequently could confess nothing. One of them has put on record that, the abbot's answers not being at all to the purpose of the Inquisitors, he was again and again "urged vehemently to call to remembrance that which had been forgotten by him and so to declare the truth." They asked his opinion "con-

cerning divers curious questions," then stirring men's minds, but he was wise and wary, as well as Christian-like and modest in his replies. His memory not being good—for he had seen eighty summers—he seems to have scrupled in giving exact and direct replies concerning the abbey property to which he could absolutely pledge himself, without further reflection, or without consulting others of his house. The Commissioners tried in vain to make him contradict himself by questions of double meaning and by a severe and prolonged cross-examination—for some of them were learned in the law—but utterly failed of their unworthy purpose. Neither over-reserved nor too communicative, he answered plain questions, when he could hear them, by plain answers. But this did not suit the Inquisitors' purpose, so they changed their tactics.

It was necessary, as they said, using religious expressions, which afterwards in the days of the "Gospellers" and Puritans became so popular, that "God willing it," and "the Lord being his helper," the abbot should return at once to Glastonbury, and with speed. So they accompanied his lordship back to the abbey, and then intimated their intention of remaining there for some days for the purpose of making, as they sanctimoniously declared, a complete visitation of his house, for the benefit of the abbot's soul, and the souls of his brethren and sons; and for the general extension of True

Religion, and his Grace the king's honour in that part of Somersetshire.

Well they did their work. They peered into every place open or locked. For locks were of small account. Library, scriptorium, dormitories, greater and lesser sacristies, common room, chapter-house, cloisters, treasury and muniment-room were all in turn examined, and their contents carefully searched and painfully overhauled. Even the private rooms of the chief officials were entered; their aumbries and lockers broken open, and their drawers and caskets ransacked. Panels of oak round the walls, which chanced to be loose, were rapped and sounded, and examined with tedious curiosity in order to find out secret recesses or cupboards supposed to be behind them, filled with treasures. Many of the younger monks, and some of the authorities of the house were justly indignant at such outrages, and showed their feelings in their looks. Others spoke out in the plainest of terms. But the Inquisitors had the power on their side, and were not to be diverted from their purpose either by black looks or strong words. Right was nothing to them. To that they were wholly superior. They acted in the name of his Grace the king. And his Majesty, besides being the "Supreme Head" of the Church, and "Defender of the Faith," was mighty. The king, as everybody knew, could do no wrong.

After having spent a day in search and inquiry,

and having given orders that the various necessary guest-chambers should be prepared for them, and that the supper should be "suitable and sufficient," they waited for the abbot to retire to rest, which—being infirm and an early riser, never relaxing the rule of the house for himself—he did soon after compline at sunset.

On this the Inquisitors began to search his private sitting-room or study "for letters and books, and (they) found in his study secretly laid, as well a written book of arguments against the divorce of his king's Majesty and the Lady-Dowager, ... as also divers old pardons, copies of the Pope's Bulls and the counterfeit Life of Thomas Beckett in print. But," as they have actually left on record, "*we could not find any letter that was material.*" In vain they hunted all over the room, in drawer, coffer, and casket, which as they say, "by his Grace's authority we broke open, where fastened for secrecy,"—in vain they examined the tall and stately tomes which were ranged in order round the room, they found nothing whatever of consequence.

On second thoughts, however, one of them perceived that the tractate against the king's divorce—of which hundreds of copies no doubt had been circulated during the heat of the controversy (but which, however, there is some reason for believing one of the Commissioners had himself brought with him in his own pocket, to be used

as evidence, if ordinary evidence were not forth coming), together with the Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury, would, by judicious combination, abundantly supply materials for a charge of treason. The other two Inquisitors after some consideration appear to have come round to this opinion; and so resolved on the morrow to give the abbot some early opportunity of at once rebutting so grave a charge.

He was, therefore, again examined, and his answers duly taken down. They persistently catechized him both as to his judgment concerning St. Thomas the Martyr, and the king's divorce. They entered into minute particulars and details. Being deaf, he had some difficulty in hearing their questions; so that some of their points he appears altogether to have missed. Being very old, moreover, his memory was treacherous, and his mind not as clear as it had been in previous years. No consideration was had for such infirmities, however, for he was kept under a trivial and tedious examination for several hours.

Notes of this, together with all the questions put, and the answers made, were at once sent up to London for the use and scrutiny of Thomas Cromwell, the king's Minister and Vicar-General. From these, as the Inquisitors told their employer, was clearly perceived—their very and exact words—that "his cankered and traitorous heart and mind (were) against the king's Majesty and his

succession." The poor old abbot, though a "very weak man and sickly," was asserted to be nevertheless, a most dangerous enemy to, and plotter against the crown. So they ventured, for safety's sake, and "for the greater good of his poor soul" as they again declared, to send him up to London, that he might be carefully confined in the Tower, if Cromwell thought such action wise and needful; "and so he be henceforth unable to do any such further mischief." At Glastonbury, where he was well known and free, he might be dangerous. Within the walls of the Tower this could hardly be so.

But the real object of this strong step, imprisonment on the trumpery evidence already referred to, neither sifted nor proved, was to get the abbot quietly out of the way. His presence was a silent rebuke to the intruders and very inconvenient. Though an old man and impotent, yet his unselfish labours in the past for the good of the house, his unblemished character, the high reputation he enjoyed throughout the whole West of England for integrity and piety, and the devotion which the monks and servants of the Abbey of Glastonbury, one and all had for their chief pastor, were ample reasons for getting him out of the way; while, with renewed expressions of respect for the Almighty, and anxious hopes that their labours might increase and further "stablish True Religion," the Commissioners or Inquisitors were engaged in their sacrilegious work.

They wrote soon after this to Cromwell, and what they said should be read with care, for their true motives and aims are by themselves most clearly enough set forth in the terms of this their confidential communication :—

"As yet we have neither discharged servant nor monk ; but now, the abbot being gone, we will, with as much celerity as we may, proceed to the despatching of them. We have in money 300*l.* and above ; but the certainty of plate and other stuff there as yet we know not, for we have not had opportunity (to search) for the same. But shortly we intend, God willing (!!) to proceed to the same (search) whereof we shall ascertain your Lordship so shortly as we may. . . . .

"This is also to advertise your Lordship that we have found a fair chalice of gold, and divers other parcels of plate, which the abbot had hid secretly from all such commissioners as have been there in times past ; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found the same ; whereby we think that he ought to make his hand, by his untruth to his king's Majesty." . . . .

They write again of their pious labours and religious inquiries, and how they were rewarded by what "it had pleased the Almighty" that they had discovered :—

"We have daily found and tried out both money and plate hid and mured up in walls, vaults, and other secret places, as well by the abbot as other

of the convent, and also conveyed to divers places in the county. . . . .

"At our first entry into the Treasure-House and Vestry also, we found neither jewels, plate, nor ornaments sufficient to save a poor parish church, whereof we could not a little marvel; and thereupon immediately made so diligent inquiry and search, that with vigilant labour we much improved the same; and have recovered again into our hands both money, plate, and ornaments of the church. How much plate we know not; for we had no leisure yet to weigh the same; but we think it of great value, and we increase it more and more every day, and shall do, as we suppose, for our time here being . . . .

"We assure your Lordship," these legalized thieves (for that is exactly what they were) go on to write, "*that the abbot and the monks aforesaid have embezzled and stolen as much plate and ornaments as would have sufficed to have begun a new abbey.* What they meant thereby we leave it to your judgment. . . . .

"Whether the king's pleasure shall be to execute his laws upon the said four persons, and to minister justice according to their desert, or to extend his mercy towards them, and what his Majesty's pleasure is it may please your Lordship to advertise us thereof."[5] . . . .

[5] Documents concerning the Suppression of the Monasteries," published by the Camden Society, 4to, p. 258.

Within a fortnight of their first arrival, the examinations, inquiries, and searchings of these active commissioners had, in their own judgment produced abundant fruit. The barrenness of the land, as regards gold, silver, and precious stones, was by no means so great as they had too hastily imagined. Corruption and bribery amongst the labourers on the abbey lands was resorted to for information, and so were threats and promises, to find out several details of the internal arrangement of the house, which the inquisitors wished to know. A little more patience and labour, therefore, had brought to light much treasure. And, as a justification for taking possession of it in the king's name, they write to their official employer, Lord Essex, that they have discovered, over and above the treasures of which they have duly advertised him, the existence in writing of divers and sundry treasons committed by the abbot, which they have duly noted down in a book accompanying their communication. This is supposed to have had reference to an assertion or report that pecuniary aid had been sent by the abbot to the "Pilgrims of Grace," in Lincolnshire; but no evidence, good, bad, or indifferent, was produced to support what was very probably a random and imagined, if not a fabricated, charge.

Our cathedrals at the present day, it may be remarked in passing, notwithstanding recent gifts and benefactions, do not own a hundredth part of the

treasures which once belonged to any one of the English religious houses of old. Ancient inventories enable us to realize something of the self-denying liberality and steady munificence of our Christian forefathers. What would be thought, however, if a company of Parliamentary Commissioners, sent round to the deans and chapters of those cathedrals, to inquire into the present state of their fabrics and revenues, were to accuse the officials of treason, because they were naturally anxious to preserve the sacred vessels of the Eucharist, together with candlestick, cross, and choice service-book, from the grasp of sacrilegious appropriators?

Yet this is exactly what Dr. Layton, Pollard, and the others did, in the case of Abbot Whiting and the Glastonbury religious. The real "treason" committed by this venerable prelate and his monks was that of endeavouring to save the treasures long ago given and dedicated to Almighty God, from the hands of the king and his rapacious creatures, by carefully concealing them.

The same thing was done, and righteously done, with the best intention, it may be remarked by the way, at other places during those awful days of regal thieving, bloody persecution, and unblushing sacrilege. The clergy, stricken down and paralyzed, knew not how otherwise to act as faithful keepers of those things of which they were but temporary trustees. At Lichfield, a tradition

declares that some of the choicest contents of the greater sacristy were then buried for security's sake, and in the hope that better times would dawn for the Church and nation—though *where* no one knows. It is certain, however, to prevent desecration and sacrilege, that a part of the sacred relics of St. Chad,[6] were secretly conveyed away by a prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral, and that after years of change,[7] these are now preserved for veneration in the choir of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Chad, in Birmingham.

A similar precaution with regard to the sacred plate and vessels of the cathedral is said, on the best authority, to have been taken at Durham, though the place of concealment is not known ; or only known to certain continental successors of our old English religious. So firmly has this been believed for several generations, that about ten years ago the officials of the cathedral made two unsuccessful attempts to discover the whereabouts of the treasure. Again, at Addington, near Winslow, in Buckinghamshire, a chalice and paten of precious metal, a portable altar and a Salisbury service-book were quite accidentally found walled up in the chancel of the village church, placed there

[6] See Appendix No. V.

[7] What is popularly called "Civil and Religious Liberty," has now taken the place in England of "Tudor tyranny." However, the tyranny of the multitude is sometimes as disagreeable as the arbitrary action of the few.

no doubt to preserve them for better times, from the rude grasp of the rapacious and ungodly in the days of Henry VIII., Edward VI., or Elizabeth.

But to return. Abbot Whiting's unpardonable sin—over and above his calm resolve not to betray his sacred trust—was that he declined to take part, whether directly or indirectly, in any robbery or illegal manipulation of the "things of God"—least of all to give them to "Cæsar," or to allow Cæsar's commissioned myrmidons to appropriate them by force, for their master or to themselves. Firm as a rock he had set his face against any kind of surrender, voluntary or other.[8]

It was known by Cromwell (whose spies were

[8] "Cromwell and his myrmidons," writes the vigorous and plain-spoken Cobbett, "beset the heads of those great establishments: they threatened, they promised, they lied, and they bullied. By means the most base that can be conceived, they obtained from some few what they called a 'voluntary surrender.' However, where these unjust and sanguinary men met with sturdy opposition, they resorted to false accusations, and procured the murder of the parties, under pretence of their having committed high treason. It was under this infamous pretence that the tyrant hanged, ripped up, and quartered the abbot of the famous abbey of Glastonbury, whose body was mangled by the executioner, and whose head and limbs were hung up on what is called the Torre, which overlooks the abbey. So that the surrender, wherever it did take place, was precisely of the nature of those 'voluntary surrenders' which men make of their purses when the robber's pistol is at their temple, or his blood-stained knife at their throat."—"History of the Protestant Reformation," Letter vi. p. 91, Ed. 1868.

at once numerous and active, the chief guiding spirit of the band being his own nephew, Robert), that such a spirit of determination existed amongst the clergy in many quarters, more especially amongst those of old blood and high rank. One newly-made nobleman, whose avowed sympathies with disturbers of the Church's peace in Germany, were not unexpressed, had pointedly remarked that "the flock of the Lord Christ in England was certain to go astray," unless the "bell-wethers," i. e. the abbots, were made to feel the finger and thumb of the Supreme Head. So the king's minister resolved to deal them a severe blow, by securing the condemnation and execution of Richard Whiting. It was resolved at the same time to strike down two of his monks, who were regarded as accomplices.

The true method by which this was done, as far as Cromwell was concerned, is set forth in some special entries from his pen in a private memorandum book, which stand thus :—

"Item. Certain persons to be sent to the Tower for the further examination of the Abbot of Glaston.

"Item. The Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston; and also to be executed there with his accomplices.

"Counsellors to give evidence against the Abbot of Glaston { Richard Pollard. Lewis Forster. Thomas Moyle.

"Item. To see that the evidence be well sorted, and the indictments well drawn against the said abbot and his accomplices."

It may strike some as somewhat strange that the resolution to duly "sort" the evidence, and to arrange for the "execution" of the person about to be tried, before the trial, was scarcely in accordance with the most elementary principles of justice. But, in this and other cases, the resolute wills of a very few hurried hundreds to death, and wrought a ruin in things spiritual, which no doubt the many deplored.

This old man, therefore, after new examinations had in the Tower,[9] and after the evidence against him, amounting to nothing of any consideration or worth, had been duly "sorted," was taken back to Somersetshire. Depressed through his imprisonment, weary and sick-at-heart with the troubles which had overtaken himself and other members of his order, he went back again to his western county sad and sorrowful, yet quite unaware of what was in store for him. The journey was not taken by easy stages; for orders had been given by the Earl of Essex (a dignity to which the king had raised Cromwell on the 17th of the previous

[9] Here he is said to have found Dr. Hugh Cook, Abbot of Reading, already confined, who left on the stone walls of the Beauchamp Tower a memorial, still existing, of his imprisonment, thus:—"DOCTOR : COOK : 1540." Or this may have been Leonard Cook, prior of Doncaster.

April), and others who had sent written instructions to the local officials, to "do what was so needful with speed:" (the superscriptions on the letters despatched ran thus—"These with haste," "These please deliver with speed,") that Whiting, more infirm than ever, with two of his monks, was hurried to Wells; so that the formality of a trial by jury should be gone through as speedily and promptly as possible; before the abbot's friends could be aroused, or any practical opposition planned and organized on his behalf.

So little had he realized what was about to happen, for his life had been as upright and honourable as it had been prolonged (his years then exceeded by ten the appointed days of our age—three-score years and ten), that on arriving at Wells, on Wednesday, November 13th, where, as he seems to have been told ambiguously, the nobility and gentry were waiting for him, he proceeded to take an accustomed place amongst his peers.

But this could not be, as the Usher of the Court respectfully informed him. He was not there then as a judge amongst his equals, but as a prisoner at the bar charged with theft, high treason, and other heinous crimes. The indictment against him, "well drawn," as Cromwell had no doubt taken care should be the case, tediously elaborated, and setting forth at length the iniquities of which he was supposed to have been guilty, was solemnly read out. Some looked upon it as

a legal farce ; and others—these were of the old nobility—sighed over the exaltation of the base-born, and wondered to what place the beggars-on-horseback would ride. To many there gathered, however, the terms and charges of the indictment caused a thrill of terror and horror to smite and take possession of their minds.

The abbot was permitted by the sheriff to have a single attendant with him, because of his physical infirmities, of whom he asked, evidently not understanding the proceedings, what it all meant.

He was told, but with difficulty because of his deafness, that Lord Essex, the king's vicar-general, was only endeavouring to compel him to make a cession of the abbey to the king : at least so many thought and believed.

"By the help of God and Our Lady, never!" replied the intrepid old man, "Never, never, so long as I live."

Friends crowded round, some fear-stricken ; some volunteering advice ; some touched to tears by so sad a spectacle.

The trial did not last long. Everything had been arranged beforehand for the act of conviction, which had been duly planned and already settled in London. The many obedient servants of Cromwell, whether high or low, had not laboured in vain in this matter. From the king's point of view the Sheriff of the county had also done his duty in the preliminaries of the case,

and merited his Grace's favour. The jurors who had been summoned to attend, had, like the evidence, also been so "sorted," that Lord Russell was enabled to inform Lord Essex with confidence, that they were "as worshipful a jury" as had been charged there for many years. "There was never in these parts," writes the same nobleman in the same epistle, "there was never in these parts so great an appearance as were at this present time, and never better willing to serve the king."

No wonder, therefore, that the king was served. When the necessary legal forms had been gone through, it was declared that Richard Whiting, the prisoner at the bar, had been found guilty of theft and treason. It was further declared and maintained, and apparently believed by the jury, so "willing to serve the king," that the abbot had broken open the treasury of Glastonbury Abbey, taken out the plate belonging to the community, and sent it to the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

When, in answer to the question, "How say you, jurors, is the prisoner at the bar guilty or not guilty?" the principal juryman uttered the word "guilty," further delay was needless, and at once the judge rose to pronounce sentence. Its nature and terms are too well known; and it was to be immediately carried out. A man who had lived the long space of eighty years could not lose much by prompt action on the part of the law. He must, therefore, die at once.

A similar sentence was pronounced on the two monks likewise.

For the night the abbot lay at Wells. Early in the morning of November 15th, 1539, he was taken in a horse-litter to Glastonbury; and once more discerned feebly and dimly through the wintry fog the towers and walls of his old and sacred home. Before the principal gateway a guard of soldiers was placed, enjoined to forbid absolutely to any one and every one either egress or ingress. But the abbot was now a convicted traitor, and consequently was not allowed to go from the custody of his keepers, or to enter the abbey. A request to see and bid farewell to his brethren in a last embrace, was also cruelly denied to him. Such a favour could not be heard of. Moreover he was not permitted to hear mass. A priest came to the side of the horse-litter by order of an official to hear his confession; and then, refused even a few hours in which to prepare for his latter end, he was hurriedly lifted down to be taken to execution. It was only then that he fully realized what was about to happen.

A gibbet had been erected at the top of the Tor, a grassy hill some little distance from the town. All through the night workmen had been sawing wood, and driving stakes, and hammering nails, by the fitful light of torches and lanterns. But few of the neighbours and Glastonbury folk knew for what exact purpose it had been put up.

For those were days of tyranny, injustice, and blood, and such instruments were frequently erected. An official from Wells had been sent over to construct it. In the morning three tall stout oak beams, placed in the form of a triangle, with cross-beams joining them, all clamped with iron, stood out in the mist. Rude and rough barriers had also been reared around, and a body of pike-men and horse-soldiers to keep guard around it and prevent any intervention or disturbance, soon took up their places.

A hurdle covered with a truss of straw was ready at hand and attached on the slope to the back of a cart; for notice of its being required had been given at once on the abbot's arrival, who was then bound with coarse cords under the arms and across the breast, and fastened with his face to the sky.[1] His legs were tied together, and the bandages carefully affixed to the lower part of the hurdle; and then, two horses being harnessed, were fastened to the cart. And so it was dragged through the town. In its progress the poor old sufferer, constantly jolted and bruised, only cried out "Christ Jesu, have mercy upon me!"

[1] It seems clear, (for certain accounts are obscure, and some traditions are obviously inaccurate,) that the two monks of his house who were condemned at Wells for "treason," were not taken to the place of execution with him, but immediately afterwards and by another road. The refinement of cruelty which thus compelled an old man to bear his sufferings alone is manifest. See Appendix No. V.

It is said that within the monastery no one knew for certain what had happened until after sunset. But, ever since the abbot's departure, and because of the prolonged absence of their accused brethren, the monks, with a fearful dread upon them, for rumours of evil were thick and dark, had constantly betaken themselves to prayer. So that many a litany and act of intercession rose up from that sacred enclosure to the throne of God Almighty by night as well as by day. Monks went from altar to altar, and chapel to chapel, imploring the aid of the saints. Where the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament glimmered in the gloom of a southern chapel, there kneeling forms, calm and collected because of grace, and trusting perfectly in God, were constantly interceding for him and for those of their brethren who had been so rudely taken away from them. Who can tell how much of the calmness and confidence displayed by those holy sufferers in their last extremity was due to the Almighty's gracious answer to such hearty and continual intercessions from their own brethren in the faith?

Jolted over the stony roads, often dragged from one side to the other, the poor old man, with the palms of his thin and large-veined hands placed together, and his bloodless lips constantly moving in prayer, bore this indignity with the extremest patience. Armed horsemen rode upon either side, and Pollard, the lawyer, one of the abbey inquisi-

tors and the Sheriff of the county, with some twenty others, were on horseback too. As the horses, drawing the cart and hurdle, slashed with a long whip in the hands of a rough driver, plunged and pranced, the poor sufferer on the hurdle suffered much. But no word of complaint passed his lips. He was utterly and completely patient, or perhaps impatient for that rest which earth cannot give, and for the promised crown.

As they went up the grassy slopes of the hill, upon the top of which the three perpendicular beams of the gallows stood prominently out, the abbot gave a long look at the stately abbey lying beside the town in the dull valley below.

Most of those people of the town who had come out of the doors of their houses to look at the sad procession as it passed, more especially the women and children, struck to the marrow with fear, and strangely overcome, turned their tear-stained faces away from a sight which sickened them; while the men, tradesman, yeoman, and hind, invoking their guardian angels, or signing themselves in faith, shuddered at what was being perpetrated before their eyes. But some, overcome with awe and excitement, seemed to be drawn towards the moving band by some invisible power of attraction; so that, at a distance and fearfully first, but then with more boldness and nearer, afterwards, they followed in the wake up the sides of the Tor.

As they reached the top every arrangement for the doing of the deed had been made and was ready. There stood the hangman in the blue blouse of a country butcher. A large unsheathed knife was stuck in his leathern girdle. A little to the right was a huge caldron, three parts filled with water, and beside it a rude red crock of tar.[2] Piles of faggots were under and around the caldron, and straw was scattered over the ground thickly within the protected enclosure.

Pollard, the lawyer, went up to the abbot,—who had raised himself on to his right elbow, when the horses were detached from the cart, but fell back again exhausted and prostrate at once,—and put once again certain questions to him concerning the plate and treasures of the abbey.

But the abbot declared that he had already said all; had nothing more to say, and desired to be left at peace in his last moments.

And now came the end. Lifted on to the cart, in the habit of his order, for he was wholly unable to stand, and there supported by two stout men while the rope was being fastened round his neck by the hangman, on a given signal, the two men together leapt down, while the hangman

[2] After the body of a traitor was "dismembered," the head was cut off, and then the body was divided into four quarters. These, having first been thrown into a caldron, were boiled, and then smeared with tar before they were set up on poles at the places appointed.

momentarily sustained the body of the sufferer, who was repeating constantly the Sacred Name. Then, a moment or two afterwards, by a sudden move, the hangman sprang on to the straw, the cart was suddenly pulled away, and Abbot Whiting hung suspended by the neck between earth and heaven.

A sudden shriek from many around; even men turned aside their gaze; and a thrill of horror, sharp and startling, ran through all but those officially engaged in the awful work.

Let us hope that, for this worn-out and weary sufferer, the actual death-agony was short and soon over.

Then the hangman, with a sudden bound, leapt up to the cross-bar of the gallows, and, clinging to it with his left hand, cut the strained rope with his right.

The corpse (if life had fled, but that seems doubtful) fell to the ground; but there was still a quivering in the body; and some say that the fingers, after opening, were spasmodically, but firmly clenched again; while one of the spectators thought that he saw the sign of the cross feebly but evidently drawn by those same fingers on the breast of the abbot after he had fallen upon the straw.

That which followed—for a curtain should be drawn over such a sad and piteous scene—may be told in the written words, still on record, of Lord Russell to the Earl of Essex:—

"My Lord,—

"This shall be to ascertain that, on Thursday, the 14th day of this present month, the Abbot of Glastonbury was arraigned, and the next day put to execution, ... for the robbing of Glastonbury church, on the Torr Hill, next unto the town of Glaston: The said abbot's body being divided in four parts, and head stricken off; whereof one quarter standeth at Wells, another at Bath, and at Ilchester and Bridgwater the rest, and his head upon the abbey gate at Glaston.

"J. Russell."

To the cities and towns here named, these fearful tokens of royal vengeance were duly despatched and at once placed on poles in prominent places, "according to law:" at Bridgwater, near the market-place; at the borough of Ilchester, on the ancient octagonal tower of the parish church of Our Lady; at Wells, over an old gateway, now wholly destroyed, which stood not far from the east end of the cathedral; and at Bath, on a spot said to be covered by the handsome Roman Catholic church, which travellers by the railway to the West of England remark, on passing, as a fine addition to the ecclesiastical buildings of that city.

Soon afterwards, the magnificent Abbey of Glastonbury received its final blow. The monks were turned out, pensioned or scattered, according

as they had behaved themselves in the presence of the Commissioners, when they "visited" the place again. The altars and font were thrown down, the lamps put out, the voice of song and melody in honour of God the Trinity, which, both by night and by day, had risen without intermission for at least ten centuries within those sacred walls, was silenced for ever. And thus one of the oldest religious foundations in England, full of historical and ecclesiastical interest, and truly valuable for what it had accomplished as a home of Religion, was wantonly and almost totally destroyed. Lead from the roofs, walnut-wood and oak fittings from choir and chapels; carved tabernacles of free-stone, rich with crockets and beautiful with gold and vermilion; artistic pavements of harmonized colours and hoar antiquity; stained glass and memorial brasses of knights, abbots, and nobles were alternately broken down, torn up, and carried away. The stately and solid walls were for years used as a quarry for the building of cottages near the town of Glastonbury or for repairing the Somersetshire roads.

The destruction was intentionally great as well as wanton; so that feeble and senile dreamers of the dawn of a better day might have no grounds for their vain imaginings, and no reasonable hope of ever repairing or restoring God's House.

Save for its well-watered meadows and beautiful verdure, the place is now practically a desola-

tion; a mere decayed town, with little in it of interest except the abbey ruins, which serve in some measure, but only to the initiated, to indicate what the ancient glories and ecclesiastical splendours of Glastonbury once were. The abbot's kitchen, a picturesque building, comparatively-speaking, little damaged, is still standing; and an old inn, in one of the leading thoroughfares, which first made its reputation in times when the magnificent monastic house of a mitred abbot was flourishing hard by; and, though the oak timbers have been elaborately whitewashed, it seems a little out of place in contrast with the showy modern buildings of recent date which are near.

The name of good old Abbot Whiting is not forgotten altogether. Some people, by the aid of traditions which are still strong and not inexact, remember the true story of his cruel and shameful death; and recounting it with horror, point up to the Tor adjacent, where he so patiently suffered for the liberties of the Catholic Church.

But the faith and system for which the last abbot and so many others in dark days died, have been (thereabouts at all events) effectually crushed out and destroyed. Thoughts of Commerce and Competition, of Agriculture, Patent Inventions, and Free Trade, have there, as in other places, taken the place of rounds of sacred duties done devoutly and with order by the monks of olden times; and Poor Houses,—one such large insti-

tution for several parishes stands at no great distance from Glastonbury, where Political Economy dominates both "Paupers" and Master,—have taken the place of the hospital of the abbey, its almonry and its sheltering retreats for the incapacitated and outcast.

The worship of God in these enlightened times is a Sunday duty lasting through one hour and a half just before noon; but even that form of worship is neither of divine institution, nor, judging by results, of any particular interest to those members of suffering humanity, who, living nigh, hear, but heed not, the monotonous sound of a single church bell, inviting them to an altarless sanctuary. In truth, the old order has changed, and has given place to a new order of things. Those who fondly hoped and fervently tried to stem the torrent of change and destruction have been ruthlessly swept away by its increasing force and fury. They are all gone, and their place knows them no more. Therefore let the dead bury their dead. Or, as some would say, (the faith could never be ours,) "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

No. VI.

THE MONKS OF THE CHARTER-HOUSE, LONDON: EXECUTED MAY 4TH AND JUNE 11TH AND 18TH, 1535.

"*Being destitute, afflicted, tormented.*"—HEB. xi. 37.

"The Church shone brightly in her youthful days,
Ere the World on her smiled ;
So now an outcast, she would pour her rays
Keen, free, and undefiled :
Yet would I not that arm of force were mine,
Which thrusts her from her awful ancient shrine.

"'Twas duty bound each convert-king to rear
His mother from the dust,
And pious was it to enrich, nor fear
Christ for the rest to trust ;
And who shall dare make common or unclean
What once has on the Holy Altar been?

"Dear brothers ! hence while ye for ill prepare,
Triumph is still your own ;
Blest is a pilgrim church ! yet shrink to share
The curse of throwing down :
So will we toil in our old place to stand,
Watching, not dreading, the despoiler's hand."

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

"*I will multiply them, and they shall not be few ; I will also glorify them, and they shall not be small. Their Children also shall be as aforetime, and their Congregation shall be established before Me, and I will punish all that oppress them.*"—ISAIAH xxx. 19, 20.

No. VI.

THE MONKS OF THE CHARTER-HOUSE, LONDON, EXECUTED MAY 4TH, AND *JUNE* 11TH AND 18TH, 1535.

THOSE who advised King Henry VIII. in his ecclesiastical policy, saw that before their plans could be carried out with any chance of success, the religious houses and their inhabitants must be respectively suppressed and scattered. It was not very difficult to deal with the bishops, some of whom had already proved themselves to be pliable and tolerably subservient, or with a restless minority of the secular clergy. Recent enactments and the notorious tactics adopted, had by consequence already worked a wonderful revolution with many of the most pliant of these. Amongst the more prominent ecclesiastical innovators, there was a wild and remarkable desire for change, spreading and deepening, which startled their soberer brethren and amazed lay-people greatly.[1]

[1] "I forecast not what may be permitted to hap; nor can I

In the early part of the year 1534 Parliament assembled, and enacted that no canons nor constitutions should be made without the king's consent; that appeals in spiritual causes might be carried from the Ecclesiastical Courts to the Court of Chancery, but that henceforth none should be made to the Pope.

By the same authority it was enacted that bishops were to be made and consecrated without the leave of the Pope, a proceeding for which there was no precedent since the coming of St. Austin; and the law likewise suppressed the payment to him of first-fruits. It was likewise decreed that the king and the archbishops shall grant the dispensations hitherto obtained from Rome. On a see becoming vacant, the king was authorized to issue his *congé délire* within twelve days, nominating the person whom he himself had selected; that, in case of refusal by the dean and chapter, or the prior and monks, the absolute selection of a bishop by the Crown should at once follow; that the person so selected should swear obedience in things spiritual, and fealty to the king; that the Supreme Head should inform the archbishop of the province of his Highness's appointment, and, if there were no archbishop, four bishops, who were to confirm the election, impart the episcopal character, and by

tell whither we drift in the things of God."—MS. Letter of William Bouchier of Oxon (A.D. 1534), amongst the Author's literary collections.

subsequent process, invest the bishop with the temporalities of his see. Thus grave and startling changes were introduced; by which the traditions of nine centuries, common to those of every other part of the Family of God, were utterly abolished.

That innovation, however, was sufficient to amaze and startle, which had taken away from the Pope all such authority as by obvious ecclesiastical necessity had existed in England since the days of the mission of St. Augustine. For the Kingdom of Christ was universal and world-wide, its laws being framed for all nations, while the kingdom of England was comparatively-speaking new and national. When, therefore, in the summer of the year 1534, the king's proclamation declaring this change as regards ecclesiastical authority, went forth and was heard; and when men found that what had been admitted and allowed in England for nearly ten centuries was henceforth to involve those who did not see their way to change in a charge of high treason, there were many ominous forecasts of the future. Evil things for the nation were predicted.

Another novelty, of which the people of Lambeth, Canterbury, and Croydon, from time to time, heard singular rumours, and concerning which the profane or witty often made merry, viz. that the new archbishop, having married a servant at Cambridge, who had died in giving birth to still-born twins, had also secretly wedded a second

wife, who in disguise and unable to speak English, was passively carried about, with his Grace's temporal goods and chattels, between the various archiepiscopal residences.[2] Some people, it seems, were profane enough to doubt whether any marriage had taken place at all: others allowed equally disagreeable and possibly wholly unfounded assertions to glide off their active and malignant tongues: evidencing that such changes were anything but popular amongst the people of England.

With such a leader as Cranmer, therefore, the record of whose loathsome Erastianism—when read three centuries and a half after his death at Oxford—leaves an unsavoury flavour in the Churchman's mouth,[3] what could the rank and file of the clergy attempt? Disunited; without leaders who could be trusted, for most of the bishops were too ready to please the king; paralyzed by

[2] "The Archbishop of Canterbury was married in King Henry's days; but kept his woman very close and sometimes carried her about with him in a great chest."—"Treatise of Marriage," by Archdeacon Harpsfield, lib. iii. p. 98. See also "The Three Conversions of England," vol. ii. chap. vii. p. 371.

[3] Cranmer, for instance, asserted that it was not forbidden by God's law," for the king of a country where the clergy were dead, to "make bishops and priests to supply the same." In answer to another question, set forth at length in Archdeacon Todd's "Life of Cranmer," that prelate replied, "A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them and the people also by their election."

the prompt and daring action of the mushroom "noblemen" and "statesmen," by whom his Grace had surrounded himself; awed into silence by new and unprecedented laws; fined and threatened with imprisonment and death,—can it cause great astonishment that so many faltered and failed?

True, some of the Friars Minor of Greenwich spoke out bravely and plainly. Fathers Elstowe and Peto did not wrap up their ideas in ambiguous language: nor even before an earthly monarch did they hesitate to proclaim the unwelcome truth at all hazards. For this their names are not forgotten.

Elsewhere, too, and by others, good defences were made. A simple trust in God enabled several of the attacked heads of religious houses,—sometimes a woman, as at Godstow, the Abbess Katherine Bulkeley,—to withstand and baffle for awhile the creatures of Cromwell, by a firm and decided "Non possumus." The Dominicans, the Cistercians, and the Carmelites were brave in defence of the truth; and many only succumbed after a considerable and wearying struggle, to the might, or, as some would say, the "brute force," of their oppressors.

But the members of no religious order did more in the defence of the ancient faith than the sons of St. Bruno—the devout and ascetic Carthusians. Here in England that order owned in various counties nine distinct houses: one at Sheen in Surrey, another at Eppworth in Lincoln-

shire; a third at Coventry in Warwickshire; two others at Henton and Witham in Somersetshire; two likewise in Yorkshire, at Mountgrace and Kingston-upon-Hull; one at Beauvalle in Axholme, and another, the best known and most important, in the north of London, the remains of which are now known as "The Charterhouse."

This "House of the Prior and Convent of the Salutation of the Mother of God," as it was anciently and exactly termed, was erected by Sir Walter Manny, a most distinguished warrior and statesman, about the year 1370, in the reign of King Edward III. The site selected was a pest-house field to the north of the city, without the bars of West Smithfield, which had been purchased twenty years previously by the founder from the Friars of St. Bartholomew de Spital—land which lies to the west of the upper end of what is at present known as Aldersgate Street.

As early as the year 1360 it appears that Sir Walter, who had been created Lord de Manny, and made a Knight of the Garter, had contemplated the institution of a collegiate establishment for a dean and twelve secular priests, and had duly obtained a Bull from Clement VI. (Pierre de Roger, sometime Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen), authorizing its foundation. But the French wars, in which this noble knight took so prominent and distinguished a part,[4] prevented a fulfilment of the

[4] In the war in Britanny, A.D. 1342, concerning the succes-

design. In the later foundation, planned and commenced after those wars, Sir Walter Manny was aided in setting up the "House of the Salutation" by a bequest from Michael de Northburgh, Bishop of London.[5]

The founder, Lord de Manny, died in London on the 13th of January, 1372, and was buried with solemnity and magnificence in the chapel of the order which he had assisted to establish. A warrant, dated the 1st of May in the same year, is still in existence, signed by the Duke of Lancaster, ordering payment for "five hundred masses to be sung for the soul of Sir Walter Manny." At the funeral, shields of his arms within a garter—Or, three chevronells sable—were hung round a lofty catafalque, rich with purple and silver, relieved with scarlet and black, and bright with pennons and wax candles. His shield and coronetted helmet, with sword, lance, and armour, were displayed, according to custom, together with his surcoat and badge, to the crowds who, devoutly counting their beads, and reciting again and again

sion, Sir Walter Manny relieved Jane, sister of Louis I., Count of Flanders, who was shut up in Hennebon. At Calais, in 1346, he performed many acts of prowess and valour, when the brave and vigorous Eustace de Ribaumont was overcome, so that the king held him in the highest estimation.

[5] This munificent prelate was consecrated at St. Mary's Southwark, by William Edendon, Bishop of Winchester, assisted by a foreign prelate, Cæsarius de Rosis, on July 12, 1355. He died September 9, 1361.

the *Requiem æternam dona ei, Domine,* regretted with tears the death of a benevolent nobleman, so charitable to the poor, who had been at once a faithful servant of the king, and a still more faithful servant of the King of kings. Outside the walls of the monastery thousands waited for the coming of the bier. His obsequies were attended by the king, his sons, and many prelates and barons, for Lord de Manny was universally respected, and the charitable and beautiful services for the departed were of unusual magnificence. His will, dated St. Andrew's Day, 30th November, 1371, was proved at Lambeth, and may still be read at the back of the hundred and twenty-first folio of Archbishop Whittlesey's MS. Register, an interesting memorial of a great and good man.

By his wife, Margaret Plantagenet, only daughter, and (after the death of her brother Edward), heiress of Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, second son of King Edward I., he had issue only one son, Thomas Manny, who died during his father's lifetime, having been drowned in a well at Deptford, and one daughter, Anne, the second wife of John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, K.G. By this lady (Anne Manny) the earl had an only child, John, Earl of Pembroke, who, in 1391, was slain, a minor and without issue, near the royal palace of Woodstock.

A few words concerning the origin, institution, and character of the order may not be out of place;

ere a record of the sufferings of the Carthusians of the sixteenth century is faithfully set forth.

The Carthusian order was founded by St. Bruno, who in June, 1084, retired with six chosen companions to the desert of Chartreuse, in the diocese of Grenoble, and there built a church on a summit, with cells near it. The present monastery of the Great Chartreuse, situated ten miles from Grenoble, stands in a barren plain, in a narrow valley between two cliffs. It is sombre and religious, but plain and unornamented. The prior never goes out of the enclosure ; he is general of the order, but only styled Prior of the Great Chartreuse. The name of Chartreuse [6] is given

[6] One of the most remarkable Carthusian monasteries in the world, is that founded by Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti near Pavia, in North Italy, which the Author, with Commendatory Letters to Father Ferrari the Superior, visited in the autumn of 1877. Its plan is substantially like that of the French house given in the text ; its splendid architectural features, Italian renaissance, being of great interest. The marble adornments of the church are remarkable and superb. On one side of the nave are seven chapels, with choice altar-pieces above the various altars, respectively dedicated in honour of (1) St. Veronica, (2) St. Hugh of Lincoln, (3) St. Benedict, (4) The Most Holy Crucifixion, (5) St. Sirus, (6) SS. Peter and Paul, (7) The Annunciation. On the other side, chapels in honour of (1) The Holy Rosary, (2) St. Ambrose, (3) St. Katherine V. M. and St. Katherine of Siena, (4) St. Joseph, (5) St. John Baptist, (6) St. Michael, and (7) St. Mary Magdalene. The institution has been practically suppressed by the State, though retained, with a prior and ten monks to take care of it, as a " National monument." It is in perfect order ; but there are no burning lamps

to all other convents of this order; hence the corrupt English appellation of "Charterhouse." The rule is of the strictest. For many years the monks of St. Bruno followed no written rule, though some think they conformed to that of St. Benedict; but others say their practices were peculiar to their institute, and not borrowed from any other. Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluni, fifty years after St. Bruno, thus describes them :— "Their dress is meaner and poorer than that of other monks; so short and scanty, and so rough, that the very sight affrights one. They wear coarse hair shirts next their skin, fast almost perpetually, eat only bran-bread; never touch flesh, either sick or well; never buy fish, but eat it if given them as alms; eat eggs and cheese on Sundays and Thursdays; on Tuesdays and Saturdays their fare is pulse, or boiled herbs; on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, they take nothing but bread and water; and they have only one meal a day, except within the octaves of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, Epiphany, and some other festivals. Their constant occupation

nor lighted tapers; mass is not now said in the church or side chapels, only in the prior's chapel. So that the place looks desolate. For an excellent and perfect account the inquiring reader should consult an archæological volume of much beauty and interest, "La Certosa di Pavia descritta ed illustrata con Tavole incise dai fratelli Gaetano e Francesco Durelli," Milano, 1853.

is praying, reading, and manual labour, which consists chiefly in transcribing books. They say the lesser hours of the divine office in their cells at the times when the bell rings; but meet together at vespers and matins with wonderful recollection. They say Mass only on Sundays and Festivals."

Women are excluded from their church as well as their enclosure. The monks are allowed to walk abroad together in private roads once a week, but never to eat out of doors, nor to drink anything but water.

Superiors only, or others addressing superiors, are allowed to speak except on certain days; and except at appointed times, they never stir out of their cells, which comprise three or four little rooms and a little garden. They work at some craft or art; study and write. They recite every day, besides the offices of the Church, the office of our Lady, the office of the Dead, and other prayers of obligation, vocal and mental. They always wear a hair shirt, and sleep on straw beds laid on boards; and their period of rest, interrupted by the recital of offices, consists at most of about six or seven hours.

The various buildings of this order were commonly erected on a simple but generally accepted plan; and, whether abroad or in England, were very much alike in their broad and chief arrangements, though they differed in architectural style.

Here is an excellent description of a Carthusian monastery once existing in France, which was, however, sold in 1792, and soon afterwards pulled down :—

"The whole of the space enclosed was about eight English acres, which was fenced in by a wall about twenty feet high. It was an oblong square, and at one end of one of the sides was a gateway, with gates as high as the wall, and with a little door in one of the great gates for the ingress and egress of foot-passengers. This gate opened into a spacious courtyard, very nicely paved. On one side, and at one end of this yard were the kitchen, lodging room for servants, a dining or eating place for them, and for strangers and poor people ; stables, coach-houses, and other out-buildings. On the other side of the courtyard, we entered in at a doorway to the places of residence of the monks. Here was about half an acre of ground of a square form for a burying-ground. On the four sides of this square there was a cloister or piazza, the roof of which was, on the side of the burying-ground, supported by pillars, and at the back supported by a low building which went round the four sides. This building contained the several dormitories or sleeping-rooms of the monks ; each of whom had two little rooms, one for his bed, and one for his books to sit in. Out of the hinder room, a door opened into a little garden about thirty feet wide and forty long. On one side of the cloister there

was a door opening into their dining-room, in one corner of which there was a pulpit for the monk who read while the rest were eating in silence, which was according to the rules of the Carthusians, to which order these monks belonged. On the other side of the cloister, a door opened into the kitchen-garden, which was laid out in the nicest manner, and was well stocked with fruit-trees of all sorts. On another side of the cloister a door opened and led to the church, which, though not large, was one of the most beautiful that I had ever seen. I believe that these monks were by their rules, confined within their walls. The country people spoke of them with great reverence, and most grievously deplored the loss of them. They had large estates, were easy landlords, and they wholly provided for all the indigent within miles of their monastery."

Such was the London Charterhouse. Portions and fragments of it, however, considerably damaged and altered, still remain amid all the changes which have passed over it. The old chapel, much multilated, still stands at the end of a small cloister. The ante-chapel and choir probably formed the whole original structure. The common hall, connected with the refectory and cloisters of the Carthusian lay-brothers, is of late third-pointed work. Fragments of carvings and mouldings in Caen stone of the same period exist about various parts of the kitchen. The gateway forming the entrance to

"Charterhouse Square," as it is termed, is an arch constructed in the same architectural style, surmounted by a pent-house supported by lions.

Though nothing earthly is absolutely perfect, yet during the two centuries and more in which the Convent of the Salutation had flourished, simplicity of life, personal piety, and fervour in devotion, as a rule, reigned amongst the monks. Of these there were, in the year 1533, no less than thirty professed fathers and eighteen lay-brothers. Six of the latter, immovable as a rock in the hour of trial, were steadfast and received the crown. Nothing can be more touching than the simple story which Maurice Chauncy, one of their number, tells in his book,[7] of the later years of their monastic life,—those immediately preceding their day of trial and dispersion. William Tynburgh, an Irishman, who had been a monk for sixty years, and prior during half that period, had, in the Name of God the Trinity, governed the house with singular skill, discretion, and firmness. His life was remarkably holy and supernatural. Sometimes visions and special revelations were granted to him. It is on record that he could seldom say the last gospel in the Holy Mass without passing into a state of ecstasy; for he lived, as it were, in the other world, and his soul was saturated with the sublime doctrine of God manifest in the flesh.

[7] "Historia Aliquot Nostri Sæculi Martyrum." This volume was first printed at Mayence in 1550, at Munich in 1573, at Milan in 1606, and two years later both at Ghent and Cologne.

He was beloved, therefore, by all those over whom he ruled, and deeply lamented when he was called home. Few forgot him in their prayers.

But, to revert to public matters again. In the year 1533 an Act had been passed requiring that all persons who were of sixteen years and upwards, when it might please the king to require it, should swear that they would maintain the Act of Succession—an Act passed after the divorce of the king's lawful wife and his pretended marriage with Anne Boleyn—which declared that none were heirs to the Crown but the children of the king's "most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife, Queen Anne." No form of oath was appointed by this statute: it was left, therefore, to those officially appointed to utilize and apply the new law to frame such an oath as they thought expedient, and then proceed to administer it.

In doing this, a blow was struck directly against the Pope,—whose predecessor, St. Gregory, had sent St. Augustine to be the apostle of England and the first Archbishop of Canterbury;—against the spiritual independence of the clergy; against the freedom of the subject, and against the express provisions of the Great Charter. To admit what was thus indirectly asked for and demanded, was obviously to destroy the old ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the undoubted rights of the spiritualty and the ancient and reasonable privileges of all Catholic Christians.

At this period, such holy religious as those

sons of St. Bruno, might well have put the question in chapter, either to other, "What crime has the Church committed that spiritual persons should receive so severe a punishment as that determined on? Why should they be persecuted even unto death, because their consciences would not allow them to approve of the lust, sacrilege, and Erastianism of a royal tyrant? Why should the ancient faith be thus uprooted?" For Christianity, as all thoughtful people knew, had done much for the people. It had rescued England from the darkness of Paganism, and besides teaching her the Divinely-revealed truths of the Blessed Trinity and God manifest in the flesh, had effectively civilized her. After the Norman Conquest the Church notoriously and actively shielded the people against the cruel barbarity and ruthless oppression of the Conqueror: and during succeeding ages had preserved them from the almost unchecked tyranny of a rude and sometimes domineering nobility. The Churchmen of the time of King John, in combination with the barons, wrung *Magna Charta* from that monarch, securing other reasonable regulations which at once formed the base and foundation of her children's truest liberties. Heretofore there had been but One pastor and One flock. The demon of chronic Disunion had not yet reared its hydra-head.

No one saw the danger more clearly than Prior Houghton. His instinct was keen and powerful,

his experience considerable: his principles high, true, and deep. Born in Essex, he had received his education at Cambridge, where he greatly distinguished himself: and it is said that feeling that he owned an undoubted vocation for the priesthood, he hid himself for some period, when his parents would have pressed upon him, as they thought, a suitable marriage. However, on having been ordained priest without their knowledge, he returned to them and sought their forgiveness. He subsequently joined the Carthusian order in London when twenty-eight years of age, and in due course, after having filled the offices of sacristan and procurator, became prior.

The legislation, already referred to, having taken place, Father Houghton, calling together his brethren in chapter, read to them the new enactment, which seemed to require of them so little; but which, when all its bearings were considered in detail, and in their consequences, involved so much; and asked them one by one, whether they were prepared to take the oath, which Report declared was being proposed. "For," said he, "the time of testing and trying us all, be well assured, is nigh at hand, even at our very doors."

"Rather than take it, if such be its true terms," they replied, "we would cheerfully go to prison and to death."

"God's holy Name be praised!" exclaimed the

fervent, but simple-minded prior, "and may He grant you, each and all, the grace of perseverance in this your sacred resolution!"

The prior had learnt something of the course of procedure to be anticipated. Trusty Christian friends, external to the order, having heard of the terms of the oath, had informed him of its nature. The more Catholic and resolute of the bishops—those, in fact, who dreaded all unprecedented innovations—had spoken out plainly in weighty words of warning. He was, therefore, prepared for the worst.

Certain Royal Commissioners, having previously intimated to the prior their intended advent, arrived at the House of the Salutation in the early part of the spring of the year 1534, a few days after the events just recorded, and requested all the inmates to appear before them. Amongst these were John Houghton, the prior, William Exmew (the prior's confessor), Humphry Middlemore (procurator), Sebastian Newdigate, William Horne, James Walver, Thomas Johnson (priest), John Rochester, William Greenwood, John Darley, Thomas Greenaway (priest), John Davis, Robert Salt, Thomas Scriven, John Bere (priest), Walter Pearson, James Walwerke, Thomas Reading, and others.

The Commissioners required the prior and his brethren to swear to the succession as recently settled by the Act; but the latter attempted to

evade the treacherous questions which such a demand involved. The prior argued, reasonably enough, that his humble position did not require him to judge of such high matters as royal marriages; but this retort was unavailing.

He was then and at once distinctly required, in their presence and in the presence of the community, to swear that the king's marriage with Queen Katherine was invalid.

To this he replied by simply saying that he could not understand how any marriage formally and solemnly celebrated in the face of the Church could be annulled; and from this orthodox and most reasonable position it was found impossible to dislodge him. Several attempts so to do utterly failed. His answer was invariably the same. He could not be moved. For this refusal the prior and procurator were both sent to the Tower. At the end of a month, however, having taken the oath with certain conditions—an act which, notwithstanding the allowed conditions, they one and all ever subsequently repented of having taken—they were set at liberty, and returned to their House.

The conditions, as will be gathered from a record of what had taken place, were as follows:—A fresh Act of Parliament embodying an oath, in which the previous Act had been defective, was passed on the 30th of March. Its wording was at once insidious and artful:—"Ye shall

swear," it ran, "to bear faith, truth, and obedience alonely to the King's Majesty, and to his heir of his body of his most dear and entirely-beloved lawful wife, Queen Anne, begotten and to be begotten. And further to the heirs of our said Sovereign Lord, according to the limitation in the statute made for surety of his succession in the Crown of the Realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other in the realm, nor foreign authority or potentate. And in case any oath be made, or hath been made, by you, to any person or persons, that then ye repute the same as vain and annihilate. And that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or any undue means, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the said Act of Succession," &c.

The terms of this oath are obviously obscure, and capable of diverse construction; yet when it is interpreted in conjunction with several Acts of Parliament, passed just previous to the oath's formation, and when certain expressions in it are duly weighed, those to whom it was tendered might reasonably have regarded it as ambiguous, and not one which a Christian ought to take.

Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, had each refused to take it. They did not object, as it seems, to that part which related to the succession to the Crown; "but unto that oath which there was offered unto mé," said More, "I could not swear without jeoparding my soul to

perpetual damnation." So likewise maintained the saintly Bishop of Rochester. His words were, "He doubted not but that the Prince of any realm, with the assent of his nobles and commons, might appoint for his succession royal such an order as seemed most agreeable to his wisdom; but, as to the other parts of the oath, he could not swear to them, because his conscience would not suffer him to do so."

This oath, however, with an expressed condition, the insertion of the words "*so far as it is lawful so to do*," was taken at the prior's advice by several of the brethren, on the 29th of May, 1534, before Rowland Lee, Bishop of Coventry, and Thomas Bedyll, clerk; and by others, on the 6th of June, before the same bishop and Sir Thomas Kytson, the King's Commissioner for that purpose.

Immediately afterwards Prior Houghton had a remarkable dream, from which he gathered truly and accurately enough that their trials were by no means over; but that, on the other hand, they had only just begun; that the imprisonment from which he and the procurator had been released would be soon repeated, and that for himself death was not far off.

This dream, which had evidently affected him, induced him to propose to all the brethren that they should each endeavour henceforth to live without offending God, and so be ready for any

further trial which might be in store for them. This was his particular advice.

As a means to this end he is reported to have set apart three days for special prayer, self-examination, and intercession. The monks were all gathered into the chapter-house, where the prior preached most fervently and with great unction, on the following text:—

"O God, Thou hast cast us out and scattered us abroad: Thou hast also been displeased, O turn Thee unto us again: Thou hast moved the land and divided it: heal the sores thereof for it shaketh. Thou hast showed thy people heavy things: Thou hast given us a drink of deadly wine. Thou hast given a token for such as fear Thee, that they may triumph because of the truth. Therefore were Thy beloved delivered, help me with Thy right hand and hear me."—Psalm lx. 1—5.

The prior is said to have concluded his long sermon by reminding all those assembled that it was better to endure brief sufferings here in defence of God's unchanging Truth than eternal torments hereafter.

He then went round to every member of the Chapter, begging pardon on his knees for any offences committed by him to them. All were touched, some even to tears, by this act of humility and charity, and each one imitated his example in what he had done.

On the morning of the third day Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung. The brethren were either gathered before the altar of their chapel, or ranged in order in their stalls of office. All present left the sanctuary sustained by their devotions and blessed by fresh grace from above for endurance and patience in the future, however dark.

Soon afterwards two priors of other houses of the order, Father Robert Laurence, of Beauvalle, and Father Augustine Webster, Prior of Our Lady of the Visitation at Axholme, in the diocese of Lincoln, came to London in order to consult with their brethren of the same order as to the nature of the oath proposed, and to learn whether it would not be possible for the various rulers of their respective communities to agree upon united action in defence of the ancient and hitherto recognized rights of their order.

They were both in anxious consultation with Prior Houghton for many hours, aided in their deliberations by others of the London Carthusians. Theological knowledge, ancient principles, and recognized precedents for what was allowable and justifiable as regards oaths and pledges, were theirs. At the end of their deliberations they resolved, in their innocence, to apply directly to Cromwell, the king's Vicar-General, who, in October of the previous year, had been made Master of the Rolls, and owned great power and influence, to solicit his aid in securing for themselves and their

brethren immunity against further interference. In fact it is recorded that they earnestly begged that the oath as set forth by Parliament might not be tendered to them, a proposal which, at least, evidences their simplicity.

The Vicar-General endeavoured to point out to them, from his Majesty's and his own point of view, that in refusing the oath, which he maintained to have been most lawfully and properly imposed by competent authority, they would devote both bodies and souls to destruction; as "they would thus prove their disobedience to Almighty God, and to the king whom our Lord Jesus Christ," as the Vicar-General maintained, "had made the Supreme Head of the Church of England."

The Fathers, who were silent, for the statements and arguments were novel and incomprehensible, shook their heads, but said nothing. They neither denied nor affirmed the statements, in so many words, but showed clearly enough by their manner that they had no intention of complying with the Vicar-General's demand.

His irritation, therefore, was great, and his words of reproach were sharp and severe.

But the priors, giving only mild and humble answers to the bluster and mis-statements of the king's official, were met and promptly confuted by the most powerful and conclusive form of reasoning—brute force.

It assumed the following form, and took action

thus. They were all three arrested at once by officers in waiting to do the work, and were hurried off by these to the Tower. They entered that fortress by the Traitor's Gate; but without fear, and, as one historian declares, with perfect cheerfulness and confidence in God, and even with alacrity.

Already two other religious were there confined on a similar charge. These were Richard Reynolds,[8] a Brigittine monk of Sion House, and John Hale,[9] sometime the Vicar of Isleworth, in which parish that renowned monastery stood. They had each maintained, as was asserted, that the king their sovereign lord was not, as the recent Act required them to maintain, "Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England," and had boldly and bravely set forth various conclusive arguments why such a novel proposition, false, dangerous, and anti-Christian, could not by them be affirmed.

Imprisonment within four narrow stone walls on bread and water, with a racking for some hours, twice a week, was, however, more practically

[8] Of Richard Reynolds, the author of the "Expositio Fidelis de Morte Thomæ Mori," who knew him personally, writes thus:—"Vir angelico vultu et angelico spiritu sanique judicii, quod ex illius colloquio comperi, quum in comitatu Cardinalis Campegii versarer in Anglia."

[9] John Hale, sometime Vicar of Isleworth, was indicted under the Act for the Establishment of the King's Succession, and, on April 29th, 1535, pleaded guilty. Judgment was given as usual in cases of high treason.

potent than either declamation, logic or threats, as the Supreme Head and his Vicar-General speedily discovered.

The three Carthusians were allowed to remain there for some days. Placed in a damp dungeon, and receiving only a little food of the coarsest sort, it was thought by Cromwell that such treatment might break their spirits and blunt their determined purpose of resistance.

"His Honour the Master of the Rolls' House is sore bent on taming the fathers," remarked a member of the king's household at Greenwich to his fellow-servant. "They are being tamed in the Tower."

"He Whom the fathers serve," was the quiet retort, "will surely take care of them, and of their fair cause too. There may be divers ups and downs for all of us, afore this work be done. May God's Mother aid them, as well as you and me."

These and such like conversations showed that many took an interest in the bold stand which the Carthusian Priors were making. Intimation of their sudden imprisonment had been sent to Beauvalle, to Axholme, and to other houses of their order, which caused fear and consternation amongst the religious. Save in one case, at the London Charterhouse, that of William Trafford, neither priest nor lay-brother flinched nor swerved from duty. Each was firm and resolute. All were

bonded together in a resolute defence of the Faith.

To the house of "Jesus of Bethlehem at Shene," as it was termed, a lay-brother, specially sent from London, brought the bad news; on learning which all the monks assembled before the altar of the Shrine of the Nativity and, on behalf of the imprisoned priors, sent up their intercessions to God. At Teddington, the account of their incarceration caused quite a commotion amongst the good folk of the village. An excited gathering on the Green followed. The epithets there applied to Cromwell, quite recently made Master of the Rolls, were neither choice nor complimentary. "Master Robert Fearon, a chantry-priest," was eminently out-spoken. He did not measure his words nor mince his sentences. "Until the king and the new rulers of this realm be plucked by the pates, and brought, as we say, 'to the pot,' we shall never live merrily in England again," he boldly maintained. "Amen! to that," replied a bystander, amid approving cheers. "Ireland and Wales, thank the saints! are against his Grace," continued Fearon; "and if England be invaded, three parts of the people be firm against the king and his new laws, as may he and his base courtiers soon find out."

Probably such conversations as these (and there were many such) were reported to Cromwell; for he had his watchful agents and secret

spies in all places where useful information for his schemes and purposes might be gathered, and where his especial work had to be done. It is said that one of the Foreign Ambassadors indirectly defended the religious orders thus attacked, by a reference to the ancient laws and liberties of the English people, which foreign nations, he allowed, much admired; and that such defence caused Cromwell deliberately to turn his back upon the illustrious author of it, at a festal banquet in the City of London.

It is quite reasonable, therefore, that the king's Vicar-General should be anxious if possible to avoid pushing matters to extremities. It might be wise not to go too far without due consideration of eventualities. On this hypothesis his visit, in conjunction with others of the king's council, to the Tower, in order to overcome the firmness of the imprisoned Carthusians, is reasonably accounted for.

On the 26th of April, after they had been confined for a week, Cromwell and the others came, with certain of his own theological allies, of which a certain flippant and profane priest, William Ap Thomas, was the chief—a shrewd and worldly-wise man, who, with considerable powers of oratory, and a verse-maker, was already a flatterer of the king and an obsequious court tool, leading several other clergy by his wretched example. Two others were with him. These latter, armed

as well with antique and oak-bound treatises of patristic lore as with scurrilous lampoons of only four pages, in biblical phraseology, for distribution amongst the multitude, were prepared to prove that monarchs, by the appointment of God Himself, were superior in authority, knowledge, and jurisdiction to all prelates, priests, and Church potentates. David, Solomon, Hezekiah, and Cyrus furnished them with personal precedents in their crooked and wearisome argumentations.[1] But such were of no avail in defence of the new Oath of Supremacy. They only served to darken that which was at once obviously light and perfectly plain.

What was in harmony with the law of God, as the priors frankly asserted, they were ready to accede to. What the Church Universal had

[1] It is asserted that Father Houghton wrote with his own hand an account in detail of all the questions which had been proposed to him and his brethren, with their answers, and sent it from the Tower to Father Exmew. From him it passed to Father Chauncy—who himself wrote so much of interest concerning the Carthusians, and who was a collateral ancestor of Sir Henry Chauncy, the historian of Hertfordshire—through whom it descended to a devout Spaniard named Peter de Bardis, to take either to the Pope or to the President at the Grande Chartreuse. It may be interesting to note that a relation of the Spaniard just mentioned, Adrian de Bardis, Prebendary of Thame, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, partly rebuilt the choir of Thame Church, restored the Prebendal House, and aided in completing the Chapel of Rycot, in Oxfordshire.

always taught they were each and all perfectly willing to affirm.

But for the Church Universal Cromwell had no more real regard or consideration than he had for the whistling of the wind round the walls of the Beauchamp Tower, or for the noisy chirping of the starlings which built their nests under its overhanging eaves. What was the Church of God to him, or he to the Church? Was not the king Supreme Head of the Church of England, and was not he the king's vicar-general?

"Will you take the oath or not?" he finally demanded, in a towering passion, of the calm and self-recollected prisoners. There was a pause and silence.

In their consciences they could not. Moreover, by the aid of Divine grace, they would not. And—God be praised for their constancy!—they did not.

The final scene was nearing them, and for awhile darkness seemed to threaten. Cromwell, white with anger, and his fellow privy-councillors, astonished at the "headiness" of the priors, left the prison at once and abruptly. Ap Thomas and the theologians of Erastianism, pocketing their newly-printed lampoons with an unctuous sigh, and re-clasping their sacred tomes—which had been of little use—turned away up the steps of the dungeon, past the warders and halberdiers, and found themselves out in the fresh air, warmed again by the spring sunshine.

Cromwell, late at night, was closeted with the king.

Three days afterwards these three priors and Reynolds, the monk of Sion House—who, to his eternal credit, had been equally firm, and was found perfectly incorruptible—were each and all included in a formal Bill of Attainder, and appeared to answer the charge before the Court at Westminster.

The charge against them, carefully drawn up, was at once precise and definite, and cannot possibly be misunderstood. The original indictment, wordy and redundant enough in its terms, like many of such documents, can still be read in the public records of the land.[2] So that the true cause of their death, "*litera scripta manet*," cannot be reasonably disputed.

They were tried on the 29th of April, 1535, for that, "traitorously machinating to deprive the king of his title as Supreme Head of the Church of England, they did on the 26th of April, at the Tower of London, openly declare and say that 'The king our Sovereign Lord is not Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England.'" The privy-councillors, with Cromwell at their head, were in attendance to give evidence, and so, likewise, were the vicar-general's pliant theologians, together with his active ally and obsequious tool, Thomas Bedyll.

[2] See the "Third Report of the Deputy-keeper of the Public Records."—Appendix, p. 237.

For some time the jury positively refused to convict the priors. The character of the latter for integrity, piety, and peaceableness was so well known that the charge itself had an appearance of obvious unreality. It took some time, and much art and perseverance, therefore, on the part of the prosecutors to make the various members of the jury comprehend the exact point on which reliance had been placed to secure a conviction. True it was that the statute which was quoted bestowed the title of "Supreme Head of the Church" upon the monarch, and furthermore declared those to be guilty of high treason "who should endeavour, either *by writing or printing*, to deprive him of that dignity or those honours;" but the brethren, as was evident, had neither *written* nor *printed* anything treasonable which could be produced or described. Hence the jury were reasonably dissatisfied with the unsatisfactory and slender evidence laid before them; and though they said but little, it was obvious that in great probability the three priors and the monk, Father Reynolds, would escape, and that justice would be done.

Cromwell, who was both keen-sighted and impetuous, saw this at a glance; and, by one of his officers, secretly instructed and directed the legal prosecutors accordingly.

Other statutes, it was pointed out to these lawyers, which had been originally drawn by the sacred right hand of the king himself, had been

specially enacted to meet the very difficulty which had arisen, condemning any one who should perversely and profanely refuse to take the new Parliamentary oath, whether he were silent to save his life, or whether he gave his reasons for such refusal.

If he were silent, it was plain and obvious to the meanest capacity that he refused to acknowledge his Highness's spiritual supremacy imparted by God Almighty; if he foolishly ventured to bring forward any reasons for such refusal, he thus plainly and maliciously derogated from royalty the attributes of Divine right.

Such an inculpated person was, as it were, thus deliberately and effectively placed on the horns of a dilemma, and caught in the strong meshes of a newly-made legal net. The three priors and Father Reynolds, the monk of Sion House, found themselves in this predicament.

Still, however, the jury refused to be satisfied as to their duty. These were new ideas which had been enunciated, and novel laws which had been passed, and they disliked each equally. To observant on-lookers, their countenances told that they were still unconvinced by anything which had been as yet asserted; and no real progress towards turning their evident purpose of acquitting the accused had been in any degree made.

Upon this Cromwell stood forward and urged them to convict the accused, as the king's Grace

was anxiously and impatiently awaiting their determination. The Supreme Head would not doubt of the faith and duty, or of the obedience and good will of the jury, but looked for and must have a conviction of each and every one, without delay. It is on record that Thomas Cromwell, the Master of the Rolls, actually entered the apartment to which, for their due peace and independence during deliberation, they had as usual been assigned, under the care of an officer of the court, and proceeded to lecture and overawe them by violence, threats, and bluster. He pointed out that the groundless scruples, and ridiculous objections of the prisoners to take the oath, deprived the Lord's Anointed, i. e. his Most Sacred Majesty, the Almighty's special favourite, of those due honours, dignities, titles, and attributes conferred upon him as well by God Himself as by the laws of the land; and that the having and holding of such scruples and objections on the part of the accused, as they had set forth, directly constituted one of the worst and most deadly forms of high treason. He wound up his unconstitutional and shameful remarks, by intimating in language which could not be misunderstood, that if they did not unanimously and immediately return such a verdict as the king's Highness demanded and expected, they should, without trial and at once, suffer death.[3]

[3] It had been industriously circulated that the three Carthu-

This frightful threat did its work. Turning pale, and looking steadily at Cromwell, they alternately cowered and writhed while it was being uttered, and at once, weak and timorous, resolved to do as they were ordered.

With his left hand on his breast, therefore, and drawing the sign of the cross on his forehead, the foreman pronounced on behalf of all the accused, the simple but sufficient word "Guilty."

The respective sentences were soon declared with the accustomed formalities.

Each one and every one was to be taken thence to a prison, and then placed on a hurdle, and so drawn to the place of execution; there they were to be respectively hanged by the neck until they were half dead, and so cut down; they were then each to be dismembered,[4] their stomachs were to be ripped up (while still alive), and before their

sian Priors had combined together to procure the assassination of the king—a report which the words of Hall the chronicler, and even those of Strype seem to allow to have been true. On this point, see the Cotton. MSS. Cleopatra E. 6 in the British Museum, and Archæologia, vol. xxv. p. 84.

[4] This disgusting and insulting cruelty, as a recent writer (Mr. David Lewis) has pointed out, "seems to have been inflicted on a priest in Ireland as late as 1777. There are the words in a letter to Cardinal Castelli, of Dr. James Butler, second Archbishop of Cashel of that name (Dr. Reneham's Collections, p. 331):—'Sacerdotes Catholicos, quorum unus ex nostra provincia ad patibulum, capitisque ac membrorum abscissionem damnatus, infamem cruentamque hanc mortem perpessus est?'"

own eyes their entrails were to be torn out and thrown into a fire; their hearts were then to be removed and burnt, their heads chopped off, and their bodies divided into four quarters; which, after being partly boiled and smeared with pitch, were to be set up on poles in different parts of the city, as the Supreme Head, in his spiritual wisdom and gracious condescension, should personally determine.

To such a sentence they each listened. The king and his minister, as all present saw, had secured their point. And so the prisoners, given in charge to a deputy of the Lieutenant, were sent back to the Tower.

Only five days afterwards, i. e. on the 5th of May, these five sufferers underwent this awful sentence. The three priors, in their white monastic habits, hooded, placed upon their backs on a broad hurdle, with their ankles tied together, and themselves bound securely to it by cords, were thus first prepared for execution. Father Reynolds and the ex-Vicar of Isleworth, in doublet and cassock, were likewise fastened in the same manner to a second hurdle, by the prison authorities. A guard of the king's soldier-attendants, armed with pikes, stood near prepared to march. The Lieutenant of the Tower, some members of the Privy Council, the Sheriffs, and other officials were there too. Horses having been attached to the hurdles, the procession passing along Tower Lane and

Cheapside, under the Arch of Newgate (over which there stood, in a niche or tabernacle, an image of our Blessed Lady and her Divine Child), passing likewise close to St. Sepulchre's Church, towards Tybourne, went along the Oxford road, then a rugged and rough way, with houses here and there at considerable intervals, and with spreading oak-trees and pleasant fields on either side. An excited crowd followed, made up of persons of all ranks ; the women and children came out from the doors of their houses, and stood at their garden-gates, several being in tears ; while a mixed multitude, many sympathizing with the sufferers ; others giving their attention to the ribald ballad-singers and profane buffoons, whom Cromwell's tools had hired to divert the attention of the mob, steadily gathered numbers in the progress.

Roper, the son-in-law of Sir Thomas More, tells us in his Life of that holy man, that the latter, in looking out of his window in the Tower, where he was confined, chanced to see Reynolds and the three priors of the Charterhouse taken to be executed at Tybourne, whom he sincerely longed to accompany thither.

"See, Margaret," he remarked to his wife, "that these blessed Fathers are as cheerful in going to their death as bridegrooms are to their marriage!"

He then went on to declare that, whereas the monks had always been so devout in their prayers,

and earnest in their penances, no doubt God Almighty had determined that they should no longer sojourn in this vale of misery and tears, but be now taken to Himself; while he, the speaker, because of his sinful life, was left in this wicked world to be still plagued with trials, and turmoiled with misery.[5]

But to return. Tybourne, technically so-called from a stream of that name, which flowed southwards from the north-western slopes of the village of St. Mary-le-bourne, lies about five miles westward of the Tower of London. At the period in question, thick woods, fields, and trees, with here and there a high-gabled timber-house, or gentleman's mansion, with greensward round, stretched out northwards and southwards beyond the high road to Tottenham. There were varied undulations of both pasture and arable land on either side, bounded by beech-trees and oaks. To the north stood a dense forest, through which the Roman Watling-street passed. By the eastern side of this forest ran the Mary-bourne, a stream noted for its grayling; the Kill-bourne joined it in a rich and picturesquely-wooded valley to the north of the Oxford Road; while the Western-bourne, passing southward with many a curve and sweep, flowed onward to a swamp near what is now the Green Park, in which was a lake of many acres,

[5] "Life of Sir Thomas More," by Roper. Edited by S. W. Singer, p. 76. London: 1822.

with an outlet in due course to the Thames. Anciently this blue and sparkling stream of Tybourne, which passed very near to the place of execution, supplied the Conduit at Cheapside with pure and wholesome water.

The monks, on their way to execution, consoled and comforted each other with brief exhortations, or devoted themselves to mental prayer. Some recited appropriate psalms, those especially which seemed to give a hope of peace after trials, and a pledge of the Beatific Vision when the grave and gate of death had been passed.

"Turn our captivity, O Lord, as the rivers in the south," ejaculated the prior.

"They that sow in tears shall reap in joy," responded his fellow.

"He that now goeth on his way weeping, and beareth forth good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him," were words full of comfort. All the sufferers were patient, recollected, and tranquil.

Numbers of earnest sympathizers met them on the road, and, with tears and kindly words, exhorted them to perseverance, for the people were with them. But there was no need of this. These holy religious had already counted the cost of what they were about. The issue was clear. They preferred life eternal to temporal death.

Before they reached St. Sepulchre's Church, near the highway to Islington, a pious woman

came forward as the procession stopped for awhile, and with a kerchief hastily wiped the dust off their faces. She received their blessing, with a genuflexion, and then retired amongst the crowd.

On reaching the appointed spot, it was found that all the dire arrangements for the tragedy were completed. Near the perpendicular oaken posts and cross-beam with its pendent ropes carefully fastened to the latter, and the wooden stage, a horse and cart were drawn up with an official driver. Soldiers stood round to maintain order, and keep off the excited and sympathizing crowd. Many state officers of note were on horseback. There was the executioner standing by the ladder, and his attendants; the latter being engaged in lighting a fire under a well-filled copper caldron. When the hurdles, on which the poor sufferers lay, had been drawn up to the spot designated and unhorsed, the Sheriff, in a loud and commanding voice said,—

"Let there be no delay. Proceed ye to your deed and duty."

After untying the cords which bound the monks, the executioner on his knees begged forgiveness for what he was about to undertake. Father Houghton, splashed with mud, and covered with dust, much battered and bruised in this his latest earthly journey, could scarcely raise his arm to bless him.

"God pardon you, and be over you, good man!"

he replied. "I grant you my pardon," he continued, feebly drawing the sign of the cross over the head of the kneeling official.

On mounting with assistance the low platform or stage, he turned first to the officials and bowed, and then made a reverence to the populace.

"Father John!" cried out one of the king's Privy Council, "Father John, it is not even now too late. Our puissant Lord and Supreme Head the king is merciful and long-suffering. If thou wilt take the oath appointed, his Highness will graciously pardon you. Take the oath, good father; take the oath, and with it thy life."

"It cannot be," was the prompt and only reply; "such a deed would merit eternal death."

Bidding farewell to his companions, whom he kissed with the kiss of peace on either cheek, he turned to the crowd and thus clearly and firmly spoke:—

"My good people, I call Almighty God to witness, and all good people, and you my brethren in Christ our Lord likewise now present, to bear witness for me in the day of judgment, that being here to die, I declare to you all that it is for no obstinate and rebellious pretext that I do not obey the king; but because I truly and sorely fear to offend the Majesty of God. Our Holy Mother the Church, as we all full well know, hath decreed otherwise than the king and Parliament have just decreed; and therefore, rather than be disobedient

to the Church of God, rather than be a rebel in the kingdom of Christ, I am quite willing to suffer." Here he devoutly crossed himself, previous to his hands being tied behind him. "Pray for me, and have mercy on my brethren of whom I have been the unworthy prior."

He then repeated the thirty-first psalm, *In Te, Domine, speravi.* When he had reached the eighteenth verse, the rope was being placed round his neck, and the executioner's necessarily rough action hindered the utterance of his devout words. But the prior made no complaint.

At length he came to this beautiful ejaculation, "O how plentiful is Thy goodness which Thou hast laid up for them that fear Thee; and that Thou hast prepared for them that put their trust in Thee even before the children of men," when suddenly the cart, on to the end of which he had been placed by aid of the executioner standing on a ladder, was driven away, and the prior was left suspended.[6]

It is reported by those who were eye-witnesses of these Tudor horrors, and have left a record of them, that Father Houghton was not dead when cut down. The executioner, with scarce a minute's delay, stripped him; with several gashes

[6] An old print representing the sufferings and death of the Carthusians may be seen in the Ghent edition, published A.D. 1608, of Chauncy's "De Vitæ ratione octodecim Cartusianorum"—in the British Museum.

dismembered and disembowelled him while yet quivering on the straw-covered platform; and then, tearing out his entrails and heart, cast them into the fire. The body was then decapitated with a rude chopper, and hacked into four parts. These were half-boiled, and then smeared with a coat of pitch.

The other priors, with Fathers Hale and Reynolds, unshaken in their fidelity to their Master, and engrossed in prayer, each suffered without shrinking, as Father Houghton had suffered; and each died in faith and charity, with no fear of man before his eyes.

* * * * *

In order to overawe the monks of one of the chief houses in London, one of the four quarters—that comprising the right arm—of Prior Houghton, was placed upon a pole over the gate of the Charterhouse. Soon after this had been done, two of the brethren are said to have met under it, one entering the gateway, and the other leaving it, when suddenly the quarter fell down at their very feet. As no one was near, and they were unobserved, they took it up and carried it into the house. It is on record that, together with the blood-stained shirt in which he suffered, and the MS. "Account of the Martyrdom, written by Father William Exmew," they placed that part of his body thus preserved in a chest, and carefully buried it "until the time when God should

gather together the congregation of His people, and be propitious to them."

Only two days after the death of the priors, Dr. Thomas Bedyll, one of the king's commissioners,[7] wrote to Cromwell concerning the next victims. For they had evidently been selected by authority.

These were Father Humphrey Middlemore, sometime procurator, now vicar, Father William Exmew, the author already referred to, lately vicar of the house, but now procurator, and Father Sebastian Newdigate, who, as Chauncy declares, was "bred up in the king's household." They were all young, but in priest's orders, and the pen of an enemy thus describes their character and constancy:—

"Please it you to understand that on Tuesday, forthwith upon my departure from you, I repaired to the Charerhouse, and had with me divers books and annotations, both of my own and others, against the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, and also of St. Peter, declaring evidently the equality of the apostles by the law of God. And after long communication, more than one hour and a half, with the vicar and procurator of the house, I left those books and annotations with them, that they should see the Holy Scrip-

[7] Thomas Bedyll, it appears, was sometime Clerk of the Council, and was much employed by Cromwell in the work he undertook to accomplish.

tures and doctors thereupon concerning the said matters, and thereupon reform themselves accordingly.

"And yesterday they sent me the said books and annotations again home to my house by a servant of theirs, without any word or writing. Whereupon I sent the procurator to come and speak with me, seeing I kept my bed by reason of sickness, and could not come to him. And at his coming I demanded of him whether he and the vicar and other of the seniors had seen or heard the said annotations, or perused the titles of the books, making most of the said matters. And he answered that the vicar and he and Newdigate had spent the time upon them till nine or ten of the clock at night, and that they saw nothing in them whereby they were moved to alter their opinion.

"I then declared to him the danger of his opinion, which was like to be the destruction of them and their house for ever; and as far as I could perceive by my communication with the vicar and procurator on Tuesday, and with the procurator yesterday, they be obstinately determined to suffer all extremities rather than to alter their opinion; regarding no more the death of their father in word or countenance than he were living and conversant among them.

"I also demanded of the procurator whether the residue of his brethren were of like opinion,

and he answered he was not sure, but he thought they were all of one mind.

"I showed him that I thought that the spirit which appeared afore God and said he would be a false spirit in the mouths of all the prophets of Achab, had inspired and sowed this obstinacy in them.

"Finally, I suppose it to be the will of God, that as their religion had a simple beginning, so in this realm it shall have a strange end, procured by themselves, and by none others. And albeit they pretend holiness in their behalf, surely the ground of their said opinion is hypocrisy, vain glory, confederacy, obstinacy, to the intent they may be seen to the world, or specially to such as have confidence in them, more faithful and more constant than any other.

"From Aldersgate Street, this morning of Ascension Day [May 6, 1535].

"I am so troubled with the fever, that I am fain to keep my house.[8]

"By your own, THOMAS BEDYLL."

Round those who remained, the web of destruction was being thus spun with forethought, art, and toil. Everything turned on the new question of the king's supposed supremacy: and, when it was finally discovered that three more

[8] "Letters on the Suppressions of the Monasteries," Camden Society, London: 1843. The original document exists in the Cottonian MSS. volume "Cleopatra," in the British Museum.

of the leading Carthusians, Humphrey Middlemore, William Exmew, and Sebastian Newdigate, were neither to be privately frightened nor carefully tamed into taking the Oath, *they* likewise were put upon their trial on June 11th, 1535; a little more than a month after the foregoing letter was penned.

They could not and would not "take and repute him (i. e. the king) to be supreme head in earth of the Church of England under Christ." This was the charge—this the indictment against them. With the precedent of Father Houghton and the others before them, no jury was found prepared to withstand the law. So, after the needful legal formalities had been gone through, a conviction was speedily procured, and the monks found guilty of treason, were sent back to prison.

For fourteen weary days before they were put to death, they were always and constantly forced to stand upright against the walls of their narrow cell, without the possibility of stirring for any purpose whatsoever,—even the most necessary. Iron collars were placed round their necks, and these were then padlocked to large iron rings high up in the wall. Their arms and their thighs were likewise fastened together by heavy chains; and they received for food only bread and water in a dungeon where the air was pestilential and the darkness complete. Sleep was carefully

denied them. If, by the sheer weight of their bodies, so weak and exhausted, they fell out of a perpendicular position, immediate strangulation threatened them. If again any of them were found by the gaoler dozing as he stood, he was at once carefully roused. The broad and statesmanlike mind of Cromwell had devised and planned all this. His obedient myrmidons ably carried it out.

Nothing, however, daunted the souls of the suffering monks, nor blunted their resolute purpose. True to their Divine Master, and following in the footsteps of their devoted and noble prior, they died as he had died at Tybourne,[9] and so were taken home.

Others of their community—there is no wheatfield of good grain without some tares in it—were not exactly of the same temper or metal. Nicholas Rawlins was one who was tried and found wanting. Under the advice of Cranmer, he was so

[9] This is the concise and exact record of what took place :—"These three were dragged on hurdles through the City of London to the place of execution, and when they had been hung for awhile were cut down being yet alive. Then the executioner mutilated their persons, and threw into the fire that which he had cut off. That done, he laid their bodies open with a sword, wrenched out the entrails, and threw them into the fire before their eyes. Finally he cut off their heads, and divided their bodies into four quarters, which were first boiled, and then hung up in divers places to be seen by the people."—Nicholas Sander, D.D.

corrupted and misled that he was induced to break the vow of his order, and to become a secular.

A Scotch friar, named Maydwell, who had apostatized under Knox's influence, and was reputed an orator, was made use of likewise to corrupt and seduce others of the Charterhouse. His violent and vulgar sermons, blaspheming the saints, and urging the people to dishonour their sacred images, were thought likely, by Cromwell and Bedyll, to edify the inmates; but these positively declined to listen to his profane ravings, or to admit him into their sacred precincts. So he was eventually utilized to stir up the general public, while other tactics were now adopted here.

Father William Trafford was subsequently appointed prior, but he was not formed in the same mould as those who had preceded him in the office, being at once, timid, a time-server, and an Erastian. The monks, who could not be corrupted from without, were thus betrayed from within. Under him the "House of the Prior and Convent of the Salutation of the Mother of God" was placed under the absolute authority and direction of Royal Commissioners, or "Governors," whose duty it was "to tame the disobedient" and carry out the delegated authority of the Supreme Head. They were not altogether successful in their attempts. The following were their written instructions :—

"*An Order for the Charterhouse of London.*

"First, that there be five or six Governors of temporal men, learned, wise, and trusty, appointed, whereof three or two of them shall be continually there together every meal, and lodge there every night.

"*Item*, that the said Governors shall call all the monks before them, and all the other servants and officers of the house, and to show them that the king's grace hath pardoned them of all heresies and treasons by any of them committed before that day, giving them warning that if they eftsoons offend, to die without mercy. And that there be a pardon purchased for them all under the king's Great Seal.

"*Item*, that the said Governors take the keys from the procurator and other officers, and to govern the house, and to receive all rents, and make all payments, and to be countable to the king's grace thereof.

"*Item*, that the said Governors call all the monks to them severally, one after another, at divers times, and to examine them of all their opinions, and to exhort them to the truth, showing them that if any of them will, he shall have a dispensation to leave that order and to live otherwise; and to have convenient stipend for a year or two, till he have provided himself with a living, so that he conform himself to the king's laws, and to en-

deavour himself to learn and to preach the Word of God, which every priest is bound to do, and yet by their religion (as it is said) they have professed falsely the contrary that none of them shall ever preach the Word of God.

"*Item*, to put all the monks to the cloister for a season, and that no man speak to them but by the licence of one of the said Governors.

"*Item*, to take from them all manner of books wherein any errors be contained, and to let them all have the Old Testament and the New Testament.

"*Item*, to cause them to show all their ceremonies, and to teach them and to exhort them to leave and to forsake all such ceremonies that be nought.

"*Item*, if they find any of them so obstinate that in nowise will be reformed, then to commit him to prison till the Council may take some other direction for them. And they that will be reformed to sever them from the company of the obstinates, and to be gently handled to cause them to utter the secrets and mischiefs used among them.

"*Item*, there would be three or four times in every week during this visitation, a sermon made by some discreet, well-learned men, and all the monks, officers and servants to be caused to be there present, none exception save only by sickness, and the said preachers to have their chambers

there, and meat and drink, that they might quietly study therefore during that time.

"*Item*, the lay-brethren be more obstinate, and more froward, and more unreasonable than the monks; therefore they would be likewise examined, and the obstinates punished or expulsed, and the other (the non-obstinats) kept for a season for knowledge of divers points of them to be had."

The more carefully this "Order" is studied, in all its points and details, the more readily will it be seen that the end and aim contemplated by it, could not, as regards their accomplishment, be far off. The loss of their books, the loss of their discipline and independence, together with the extravagant rules herein introduced, more especially that in which apostasy is suggested, must have been a deep and dark trial. Some of the monks, at Cromwell's suggestion, were forcibly compelled to listen to sermons full of "the new learning," as it was styled; all were oppressed sorely and unjustly. Everything, in fine, was out of gear.

As a consequence gloom hung over the place; and there were not wanting those amongst them who forecast a dark future for both order and church. A strange feeling of coming desolation is said to have taken possession of the monks, and bade them prepare for the worst.

One of them, John Darley, has left on record

the account of a somewhat remarkable supernatural occurrence, which took place about this time, and is quite worthy of note.[1]

It appears that, in the year 1534, Father Rabey, a very old man, lay upon his death-bed, and had been attended, during his sickness and extremity, by the monk Darley. In the presence of the prior and all the brethren, the sick man, having previously made his confession, was anointed and received the Holy Viaticum, in preparation for his last journey.

After all the brethren had bidden him farewell, and left his cell, Darley said to the sick man :—

"Good Father Rabey, if the dead may come back to the quick, I beseech you of your charity to return to me."

Having promised to do so, it pleased God speedily to call him home.

Darley does not seem to have dwelt on this death-bed promise, but to have let it slip out of his mind altogether.

However, at five o'clock on the feast of St. John the Baptist in the following year, this holy religious being in contemplation in his cell, the spirit of the old man, who had promised to return, if permitted, suddenly appeared to him in a monk's habit, and gliding near, asked him,—

[1] Cottonian MSS. Brit. Museum, Cleopatra, E. IV. folio 129.

"Brother Darley, why do you not follow our Father, Prior Houghton?"

He answered, "Wherefore should I?"

"Because he is a martyr in heaven next unto the angels," was the reply.

"Where be all our other fathers which died as well as he?" asked Darley of the apparition.

"They are all safe in the keeping of God, and well," was the reply; "but not so well as he."

Darley then inquired, "And how fare you, yourself, good Father?"

"I am well enough," he answered; "but your loving prayers, and those of others of our brethren, would do me exceeding much good."

And so the apparition of the old monk suddenly vanished away.

The record thus continues. On the following Saturday, a little after five in the morning, the spirit again glided in, and stood in the same place; and it seemed to bear a staff in its hand, upon which it leant. The astonished monk greeted it anew, and these were the words which it spake in reply:—

"I am sorry that I lived not to have been a martyr like our holy father the prior."

"I think that may be ye are as well off now, as if ye had been," replied Darley.

"Nay, nay!" retorted the apparition, "not so; for the prior be now in truth next unto the angels, and my Lord of Rochester is there likewise."

"What more?" inquired the monk.

"God's angels of peace do lament and mourn, dear brother, for the sins and sorrows of our land; and they mourn without measure."

The apparition vanished. These were his last words.

Three days afterwards Father John Darley wrote down, with his own hand, a record of these warnings. And this record is with us still.

Over each and all the matter of the Oath of Supremacy continued to hang. Some were for taking it: others still declined. The Director of Sion House was an external ally of Cromwell's who tried to dissuade the Carthusians from further resistance. With some of them he appears to have been successful: with others he utterly failed. However, when it was again proposed to them, a certain number, headed by the prior, subscribed to it. These were its exact terms:—

"We, the Prior and Convent of the House of the Salutation of Our Lady, of the Order of Carthusians, nigh London, and the convent of the same, swear that from henceforth we shall utterly renounce, refuse, relinquish, and forsake the Bishop of Rome and his authority, power, and jurisdiction.

"And that we shall never consent nor agree that the Bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other the king's

dominions; but that we shall resist the same at all times to the uttermost of our power;

"And that from henceforth we shall accept, repute, and take the king's Majesty to be the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England;

"And that to our cunning, wit, and uttermost of our power, without guile, fraud, or other due means, we shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular Acts and Statutes made and to be made within this realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome and his authority, and all other Acts and Statutes made and to be made in reformation and corroboration of the king's power of Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England, and this we shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be, and in nowise do or attempt, nor to our power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apartly to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof, by any manner of means or for any manner of pretence;

"And in case any oath be made, or hath be[en] made by us to any person or persons in maintenance, defence, or favour of the Bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, we repute the same as vain and annihilate.

"So help us God, all Saints, and the Holy Evangelies.

"Given in Our Chapter House, under the Common Seal, the 18th day of May, the twenty-ninth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Henry the Eighth.

"Being then and there present, the Right Worshipful Mr. Thomas Bedyll, Archdeacon of Cornwall, and Master Richard Gwent, Archdeacon of London, witness in this behalf is required.

"*Per me*, WILHELMUM TRAFFORD, *Priorem.*

"*Per me, Dominum* EDMUNDUM STERNE, *Vicarium.*"

In addition to the above, eighteen other monks in the chapter-house of the monastery, signed this document, which was duly attested by William Say, a notary public.

But ten members of the House still standing firm—Thomas Green, Thomas Johnson, and Richard Bere, priests, and John Darley, a professed monk, together with William Greenwood, Robert Salt, Thomas Reading, Walter Pearson, Thomas Scryven, and William Horne, lay-brothers —were on May 18th committed to Newgate. These were prepared, by God's grace, to follow in all particulars their former prior, John Houghton.

Their sufferings under imprisonment, like in kind to those of their brethren some months previously, were almost too awful to contemplate.

Margaret Clement, a devout religious woman of Sion Nunnery, who had been brought up in

the family of Sir Thomas More, on learning what had happened, sought out these poor sufferers so as to alleviate their sorrows,—of which corporal work of mercy the following[2] is a record. Concerning herself, it is stated that—"She was born of very holy and devout parents, her father a doctor of physic, her mother a very holy woman, as may appear in her acts; amongst which one is worthy of memory, which I have heard our blessed mother often to relate, and also others that had known her in times past in England.

"The persecution being very great, especially against the Charterhouse monks, who were then in prison, and cruelly handled (and after martyred for the true faith), which when she did understand, bearing a singular devotion to that holy order, and moved with great compassion of those holy Fathers, she dealt with the gaoler that she might secretly have access unto them, and withal did win him with money that he was content to let her come into the prison to them, which she did very often, attiring and disguising herself as a milkmaid, with a great pail upon her head full of meat, wherewith she fed that blessed company, putting meat into their mouths, they being tied and not able to stir,

[2] "The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers related by themselves," First Series. Edited by the Rev. John Morris, London: 1872.—I am indebted to the above for a most touching and valuable account of Mother Margaret Clement, quoted in the text.

nor to help themselves, which having done, she afterwards took from them their natural filth.

"This pious work she continued for divers days, until at last the king inquiring of them if they were not dead, and understanding that they were not yet dead, to his great admiration, commanded a stricter watch to be set over them, so that the keeper durst not let in this good woman any more, fearing it might cost him his head if it should be discovered.

"Nevertheless, what with her importunity, and by force of money, she obtained of him that he let her go up to the tiles, right over the close prison where the blessed Fathers were. O rare example and courage of a woman! And so she, uncovering the ceiling of tiles over their heads, by a string let down meat in a basket; approaching the same as well as she could unto their mouths as they did stand chained against the posts.

"But they not being able to feed themselves out of the basket, or very little, and the gaoler, fearing very much that it should be perceived, in the end refused to let her come any more; and so, soon after, they languished and pined away, one after another, what with the stink and want of food, and other miseries which they there endured."

All this is independently and distinctly corroborated in a letter from Bedyll, recently made Archdeacon of Cornwall, to his patron Cromwell,

which letter is still in existence,[3] and is here reproduced :—

"My very good Lord,—After my most hearty commendations, it shall please your lordship to understand that the Monks of the Charterhouse here in London, which were committed to Newgate for their traitorous behaviour, long time continued against the king's grace, be almost despatched by the hand of God, as it may appear to you by the bill inclosed. Whereof, considering their behaviour and the whole matter, I am not sorry that all such as love not the king's highness and his worldly honour were in like case.

"My Lord (as you may), I desire you in the way of charity and none otherwise to be good lord to the Prior of the said Charterhouse (William Trafford), which is as honest a man as ever was in that habit (or else I am much deceived), and is one which never offended the king's grace by disobedience of his laws, but hath laboured very sore continually for the reformation of his brethren. And now at the last, at mine exhortation and instigation, constantly moved and finally persuaded his brethren to surrender their house, lands, and goods into the king's hands, and to trust only to his mercy and grace. I beseech you, my lord, that the said prior may be so entreated by your help that he be not sorry and repent that he hath feared and followed

[3] Cotton. MSS. British Museum, "Cleopatra," IV. folio 256.

your sore words and my gentle exhortations made unto him to surrender his said house, and think that he might have kept the same, if your lordship and I had not led him to the said surrender. But surely (I believe that I know the man so well) that howsoever he be order[ed], he will be contented without grudge. He is a man of such charity as I have not seen the like.

"As touching the house of the Charterhouse, I pray God, if it shall please the king to alter it, that may be turned into a better use (seeing it is in the face of the world), and much communication will run thereof throughout the realm; for London is the common country of all England, from which is derived to all parts of the realm all good and ill occurrent here.

"From London the 14th day of June (1537).

"By your Lordship's commandment,

"THOMAS BEDYLL."

"ENCLOSURE.—*There be deported:* Brother William Greenwoode, Dan John Darley, Brother Robert Salt, Brother Walter Pierson, Dan Thomas Greene.

"*There be even at the point of death:* Brother Thomas Scryven, Brother Thomas Reading.

"*There be sick:* Dan Thomas Johnson, Brother William Horne.

"*One is whole:* Dan Richard Bere."

Of these not Richard Bere, as the archdeacon believed and asserted, was alive, but William

Horne, who bore the hunger, thirst, cruel privations and sufferings, better than his brethren; and so, when his nine companions, one after the other, had rendered up their souls to God, receiving less cruel treatment, lived four years in prison; but eventually suffered death in defence of the freedom of the spiritualty, refusing, even unto his latest breath, to give the things of God unto Cæsar.

The surrender of the monastery—the very point for which Cromwell had been long and earnestly labouring (for a sharp and severe blow given to the religious was a blow indeed)—at length took place. The formal document by which it was surrendered, which had been dictated from a form already drawn up by Bedyll, was signed in his presence in the Chapter-House on the 10th of June, 1537. More than abject in its terms, the statements it contained were obviously inexact and without foundation.

In it the prior and monks were made to say that they had each and all "sinned grievously against the most illustrious royal Majesty of England." They admitted that by such sin they forfeited all right to their house, goods, and chattels; that they were each and every one guilty of treason, and deserving of death; and so, after a verbose statement of their transgressions, and an insincere laudation of his Majesty's notorious mildness and tolerance, they thus concluded:—

"We give, grant, and deliver to our illustrious Prince and Lord, Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, King of England and France, Lord of Ireland, Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England, and our Patron, this our monastery and priory, with all and every its manors," &c.

The king, therefore, by his commissioners, at once took legal possession of it. Trafford, the prior, received an annual pension of 20*l.*, little in itself, when compared with similar pensions, and no doubt less than he expected. Sixteen other monks, who after him had signed the deed of surrender, each received 5*l.* a year. The survivors of a community, where true religion had flourished and abounded since the days of Sir Walter Manny and his co-founder, the Bishop of London, were expelled, exactly two years and five months after its surrender, i. e. late in the autumn of 1537.

The house, splendid in its architecture, perfect in its arrangements, was soon defiled; the sanctuary desecrated; for the lights had been rudely put out, the voice of praise and thanksgiving was hushed, the daily sacrifice had ceased, and the work of prayer was over. God was banished at the direction of the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and the Abomination of Desolation deliberately set up.

Its buildings and site, granted to them by the king, passed from the noble family of the Norths,

who had turned the sanctuary into a dining-hall, into that of the Duke of Norfolk, whose son, A.D. 1611, sold it to an esquire named Thomas Sutton, the founder of the existing Charterhouse hospital and school.

As to the faithful prior and monks, whose trials and deaths have been here truly related, even those who claim to be the most impartial writers of English history, have, as any inquirer may discover for himself, either slurred over their noble defence of the faith, or left their deeds and sufferings altogether unmentioned. But the blessed and glorious memory of these Carthusians is still cherished by many; and those who, in a sceptical and shallow age, claim to be Catholics, will ever be proud of their countrymen, who so suffered for the Faith, a faith which never changes, and for the One true Church, independent of and superior to all mundane powers, which is at once unchangeable, irreformable, divine, infallible, and eternal.

No. VII.

THE DESOLATION OF SION HOUSE.

HENRY THE EIGHTH'S DEATH AND BURIAL,

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1547.

"To see churches pulled down or rifled, the plate swept off the altar, and the holy furniture converted to common use, had no great air of devotion. To see the choir undressed to make the drawing-room and bed-chamber fine, was not very 'primitive' at first view. The forced surrender of abbeys, the maiming of bishopricks, and lopping the best branches of their revenues, the stopping unappropriated tithes from passing in the ancient channel; these things are apt to puzzle a vulgar capacity. Unless a man's understanding is more than ordinarily improved, he will be at a loss to reconcile these measures with Christian maxims, and make them fall in with conscience and Reformation."—Jeremy Collier's "Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain," vol. ii. pp. 161—2.

"King Henry is charged with a great many vices in private life, which is a point to be touched very tenderly; for, though his further irregularities give occasion to judge the worst of him, yet it is not the part of a Christian to improve suspicions into facts, nor is it always allowable to report real facts to the prejudice of any person's character."—Dodd's "Church History of England," vol. i. p. 316. London, 1839.

No. VII.

THE DESOLATION OF SION HOUSE: HENRY THE EIGHTH'S DEATH AND BURIAL,

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1547.

On looking back upon the past, how often it is discovered that very great events have flowed from small and unimportant causes! Humanly speaking, the severance of England from the rest of Christendom in religious and ecclesiastical matters, and the repudiation of the Primacy of the Apostolic See, were brought about by the king's divorce of his lawful wife Queen Katherine, and his alliance with Anne Boleyn. The complications, both home and foreign, then caused, ended in the visible separation of England from Catholic nations on the continent, and have sealed her continued irreligious isolation ever since.

Some foresaw this very plainly. Certain of the monks, whom the king so hated, prophesied evil

for the kingdom because of Henry's action towards his queen, and warned him openly, in the plainest and most solemn language, of an end on earth which the sacrilegious, the apostate, and the forsakers of God's law righteously deserved.

Two monks, Peto and Elstowe, "of a good house and family," as Harpsfield put on record, belonging to the Friars Minor, or "Observants," at Greenwich, were in the forefront of those few who spake out boldly and plainly, without fear or favour.

Peto, preaching before the king and his Court in the palace chapel of Greenwich, on Easter Day, 1532, was very dauntless and bold in dealing with a delicate topic, then on the lips of all. Feeling strongly, as a religious and a Christian priest, he did not clothe his language in obscure words or redundant phrases of double meaning. His subject was the Life and Death of King Ahab—a delicate one for a preacher before royalty; when, as is customarily the case, words have to be weighed, only platitudes uttered, or flattering compliments passed.

But Peto was brave and fearless, and spoke out boldly:—

"Your Highness's preachers," he ventured to observe, turning towards the royal pew, and lifting his skull-cap with a profound reverence, "Your Highness's preachers are too much like those of Ahab's days, in whose mouths were found a false

and lying spirit. They flatter and proclaim falsehoods, and are consequently unfaithful to your Highness. Theirs is a gospel of untruth, 'another gospel which is not another.' They dare to speak of peace when there is no peace, and are not afraid to tell of licence and liberty for monarchs which no king should dare even to contemplate."

This, of course, bore directly on the question of the divorce.

Peto was "a simple man, yet very devout," and his sanctity and integrity were generally and duly recognized. It may be that this was the reason why the king, for the moment, endured all he had said patiently, and did no violence to the bold preacher on the spot.

The impressive and vigorous sermon ended with a strange and remarkable Prophecy, which will be seen was eventually and exactly fulfilled :— "*I beseech your Grace,*" the preacher said, in tones of solemn earnestness, "*to take good heed, lest if you will need follow Ahab in his doings you will surely incur his unhappy end also, and that the dogs lick your blood, as they licked Ahab's—which God avert and forbid!*"

These words spoken while all held their breath, made a great impression, as well they might. The courtiers were aghast at the preacher's boldness. Few would have dared to say what this Friar Minor had uttered. What would happen ?

The king, however, unusually calm and self-

possessed, resolved that on the following Sunday a sufficient answer should be given to him by some other preacher, but that nothing should be done at present. Logic, on this occasion, rather than force, should do the work required; and Dr. Hugh Curwen, "a trusty priest and a true," was selected to do it. This theologian, be it noted, subsequently became Dean of Hereford, and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin.

On the following Sunday, therefore, he appeared before the king in the pulpit of the same Royal Chapel, and was both elaborate and profuse in his strong adjectives and condemnation. This grave and reverend divine called Peto "a dog, a slanderer, a base beggarly friar, a close-man"—i. e. one who reserved to himself the full meaning of his words—"and a rebel, and sore traitor. I speak to thee, Peto," he went on to say in his abusive peroration, "who makest thyself Micaiah, that thou mayest speak evil of kings; but now thou art exposed and found out. Thou art utterly cast down and cannot answer. Thou art a dumb dog, or else hast fled."

The king looked pleased; the courtiers were gratified. For a moment there was no reply.

But all at once a clear and unfaltering voice came from some one standing in the rood-loft. It was that of a fellow-monk of Peto, Father Elstowe. And, addressing the preacher, he spake out boldly and plainly thus:—

"Good Sir, you know well that Father Peto, as he was commanded, is now gone to a Provincial Council being held at Canterbury, and never fled for fear of you; for to-morrow, God willing, he will be here again. In the meantime I am another Micaiah. Even unto thee, Curwen, I say, who art thyself one of the four hundred lying prophets, into whom the spirit of lying is entered; thou seekest by proposing adultery to establish a succession; in this thou art betraying the king to everlasting perdition, more for thine own vain glory, and hope of temporal gain by promotion, than for the discharge of the thing you call your 'conscience,' or for the king's eternal salvation."

Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, who was amongst this congregation (as some writers say, or as others, when he was present at a Council Meeting), exasperated at what was said, cried out, "You shameless friar! You shall be sewn up in a sack and thrown into the Thames, if you do not speedily hold your tongue."

"Make those threats to your fellow-courtiers," was the instant reply. "As for us friars, we make little account of them indeed; knowing well enough that the way lieth as open to Heaven by water as by land."

Because of this sermon of Peto's, therefore, and because of the brave reply of Father Elstowe made to Curwen, the despotic king's[1] rage knew no

[1] "Cardinal Reginal Pole, so careful and competent a wit-

bounds. He thought, by Curwen's aid, to publicly turn the tables on Peto, but now his fellow-friar had openly turned the tables on him. What was the king's resolution, therefore? Nothing less than that the whole house of the Observants at Greenwich should be at once suppressed and brought to nought. The monastery was speedily dissolved, and the friars one and all banished. So likewise were the houses of the same Order at Richmond in Surrey and at Canterbury.

But, notwithstanding this act of tyranny, the dark prophecy in question was never forgotten. It was cautiously talked of at Court. From the Court the portentous words spread to the country, where people greedily discussed it. Misstated sometimes, and sometimes garnished, the utterance of Peto became a subject of general conversation amongst all classes. "The king," said the common people, "would certainly suffer as did Ahab if he put away his lawful queen, the Lady Katherine."

How this Prophecy was exactly fulfilled, and where, and under what circumstances, must now shortly be told :—

Amongst the earliest religious houses which were dissolved was that of Sion, near Brentford in

ness of what was taking place, asked with sorrow, "Was there ever before seen, I do not say in England, where the people have ever enjoyed extensive privileges, but in any Christian country, a despot, whose smallest caprice was regarded as a sovereign law?"—Author's MSS. and Excerpts.

Middlesex. What was done to bring about its dissolution and Desolation need not now be here recorded at any great length. The manner of operation was the same in almost all cases, when suppression was finally resolved on. Nothing could withstand the powers that were, on their firm resolutions to carry their point. They were potent and determined, and regardless of consequences. Opposition was fruitless. And so in England the monastic system fell.

Some facts and details, however, are necessary, as well for a right understanding of what subsequently took place in every locality and shire, as of what happened at Sion House, when the prophecy was fulfilled. When the Desolation of that House, as brought about by the king, is remembered, and when it is furthermore borne in mind that more than a thousand monasteries, independent of colleges, hospitals, and chantries were similarly made desolate;[2] the eventual fulfilment of Peto's prophecy cannot be read with other than a combined feeling of awe and satisfaction.

Sion Monastery of the Bridgetine Order, or to write technically and exactly, "The Monastery

[2] "The axe and the mattock ruined almost all the chief and most magnificent ornaments of the kingdom; viz.—376 of the lesser monasteries; 645 of the greater sort; 90 colleges; 110 religious hospitals; 2374 charities and free chapels."—Sir H. Spelman's "History and Fate of Sacrilege," p. 186. London: Masters.

of St. Saviour and St. Bridget of Syon of the Order of St. Augustine," was founded by King Henry V. on the 3rd of March, 1415. It was, as planned by his Majesty, to consist of two separate courts or divisions—on the one side of sixty nuns, of which one should be abbess. Also there were to be twenty-five religious men on the other side—of whom thirteen were to be priests, (one confessor general and superior included), four deacons, and eight laymen, as the king's deed of institution [3] runs, put into English—"to celebrate divine service daily for ever, for our healthful estate while we live, and for our soul when we shall have departed this life, and for the souls of our most dear lord and father, Henry, late King of England, and Mary his late wife, our most dear mother and others."

The king endowed the house right royally. At the suggestion of his own confessor, Matilda Newton was to be the first abbess; William Alnwyck the first director and general confessor. The king himself observing all the ceremonies of Holy Church, laid the foundation-stone of the buildings with his own hand, on the 22nd of February in the following year, and always warmly supported it, bestowing several large donations. For its sacred purposes Pope Martin V. "commending in the Lord the king's most pious and laudable proposition," vouchsafed his apostolical blessing on

[3] Rot. Cart. 2. Hen. V. p. 2, m. 28.

its institution.[4] Its rights and immunities were constantly enlarged and protected by Parliament.

Five years were spent in finishing the well-planned buildings, which were rich and complete in their character; and suitable in all respects for the members of the order.

On the 5th of February, 1420, Archbishop Chicheley consecrated the church and altars, and solemnly dedicated the whole building by the appointed rites to Almighty God. Twenty-four women and eleven men were then formally installed in their offices, or took the accustomed vows in the presence of the archbishop himself, and in the face of the Church.

The work which was then commenced, thank God! has never altogether ceased.

Since then, there have been many alternations of sunshine and shadow, days of trial as well as days of triumph; and none could have been darker, nor more fraught with sorrow than the day of dissolution: but the first abbess still owns a legitimate successor; while the silken cord of pleasant traditions,—traditions of peace and charity and sacred self-denial and beautiful self-devotion, has never been broken.

But the whole story of its erection is not yet told. A new church (for that already in use had become too cramped and inconvenient) was planned; and its first stone, anointed with holy

[4] Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. ix. p. 611.

oil, and solemnly blessed, by the Bishop of London, in the presence of other prelates, was laid in the year of grace 1426. The possessions of the house steadily increased; for the devotion and piety of its inmates being generally recognized by all classes, the place was held in high repute both by high and low; and many by consequence were anxious to become benefactors, and to participate in the spiritual privileges there owned and dispensed.

At the end of the fifteenth century, Anne, daughter of Cecily Duchess of York, wife of Richard Duke of York, and mother of King Edward IV., had been prioress. She died on the 1st of April, 1495, and bequeathed what is termed in her will "A Booke of Bonaventure," to her daughter. Twenty-three years afterwards Margaret, the sister of Andrew, Lord Windsor, filled that office,—a lady of singular virtue, devotion, and fortitude; and it is certain that its inmates generally since its foundation had belonged to the highest families in the realm. As a consequence its influence, indirect as well as direct, was considerable; and this in times of unquiet and change certainly did not decrease. Its proximity to London; the fact that it was a royal foundation; its connexion, through so many of its members, with the nobility and noble families, and the influence which the clergy of Sion as confessors exercised in London and its neighbour-

hood, made King Henry VIII., when the monks —like Peto and Elstowe—were found to be opposed to his divorce and other matrimonial plans, resolve that, under any circumstances, it should be one of the first to fall. His sturdy and determined resolution, so efficiently strengthened by the agents whom he had selected and appointed, was duly accomplished.

Thomas Bedyll and Richard Layton—two persons, both priests, but with fly-blown reputations—were specially selected to do the king's work. They did it well and thoroughly, and with a will. The latter, on visiting Sion House, seems at first sight to have taken a great dislike to one of the "most obstinate and heady brethren," named Bishop; as also to "a foolish fellow, with a curled head, that," as he reminded Cromwell, "kneeled in your way when ye came forth of the confessor's chamber,"[5] whose name is not recorded. Bishop, according to the unvarying custom of the Inquisitors, was of course accused of incontinency,[6] but on the slenderest evidence—viz. because some

[5] Cotton. MSS. "Cleopatra," E. IV. folio 125.

[6] "Against the monks themselves, the most abominable falsehoods were propagated by the visitors, and they were accused of everything bad in the black catalogue of crime. That a body of men, consisting of at least thirty thousand souls, should be found all virtuous was not to be expected; but charges such as these deserve the contempt of every honourable and impartial man."—"History of the Isle of Axholme," by the Rev. W. B. Stonhouse, p. 252. London: 1839.

women from Uxbridge had regularly confessed to him; or because he was reported by some nameless Isleworth gossip (for no direct or distinct evidence of any moment was forthcoming at all), of having endeavoured to corrupt one of the religious.[7] Layton, who evidently smacked his lips over the report, in his official letter to Cromwell, written on Sunday, December 12th, 1538, asserted that many of the brethren of Sion House were utterly weary of the burden of their habits, and would, in his opinion, gladly be rid of it; and quite needlessly expressed a hope that Almighty God would save him, the pious writer, "from such religion and feigned sanctity." He regretted that their efficient ally, Thomas Bedyll, had not been with him during the process of his first and earliest inquiry; as that personage, in his judgment, divinely raised up for the work, "had such capacity from God" in "bringing the king's matter to pass."

Later on, as it appears, Bedyll—whose unchastened imagination so often ran riot, but who, as he himself said, was so "mighty zealous for the Lord God of Hosts," came to Sion House, to co-operate in the work of making careful and special

[7] "The visitors," as Hearne remarked, "stuck at nothing that they thought would expose the monks, and would serve as an argument to the king for dissolving the abbeys and seizing on the lands and revenues, and afterwards employing them to such purposes as himself, by the advice of those visitors, and other enemies to the monks should judge proper."—"Letters from Bodleian Library," by Thomas Hearne, vol. i. p. 237.

inquisition, as regards the morals of its inmates; and he too sent up a report to his employer, Cromwell. To stir up moral filth, when found, was to him evidently a pleasure and delight. If there was none to find, discreet invention might prove to be at once necessary and useful. The brethren, he regrets to observe, are "heady," i. e. not oversubservient, and "stand stiff in their perverse obstinacy." They must be accused, therefore, tormented, and tamed.

It seems that Dr. Butts and the Queen's Almoner had gone down to convert Richard Whitford,[8] and Anthony Little, two clerics, and a laybrother, named William Torrington, but without success. As Bedyll tersely puts it, "They nothing profited."[9]

Of his own special labours he wrote in detail,—"I hammered away at Whitford in the garden, both with fair words and with foul, and pointed out to him that his obstinacy might ensure his death; but it was of no avail."

Torrington, another monk, was reported to be "very sturdy against the King's Title" of Supreme Head. It was a damnable novelty, as he profanely and wickedly asserted, and he would have none of

[8] Whitford was one of the most accomplished theologians of the day, and an author (several of whose works are in print) of repute and distinction. He seems likewise to have been the confessor of many of the nobility.

[9] MSS. Cotton. "Cleopatra," E. IV. fol. 109.

it; and, without fear, said as much in very plain and impressive language.

Bedyll, by his own authority,[10] as a delegate of Cromwell, the king's lay-Vicar-General, putting aside both Visitor of the House and bishop of the diocese, presumed to forbid the two priests henceforth to hear any confessions whatsoever,—for such in his own experienced judgment, "hath been the cause of much evil, and of much treason, which hath been sowed abroad in the matter of the king's title, and also in the king's Grace's matter of his succession and marriage."

Amongst the astonished nuns this rude and foul-mouthed fellow was evidently more successful in his tactics. Assembling them in the chapter-house, he rated them in scriptural phrases with sanctimonious upbraidings, till they were in tears; he browbeat them till they were silent; he accused them of all kinds of enormities, without a shadow or tittle of evidence; and then brought in their official confessor—who had been already bribed and won over—to aid and abet him in making them at once recognize the king's spiritual authority and supremacy—which they were en-

[10] For letters to Cromwell from Thomas Bedyll, *See* Cotton MSS. "Cleopatra," E. VI. folio 168 A. &c. There is also a letter from Fathers John Fewterer, Confessor of Sion House, John Coppinger, R. Lache, and others to their brethren of the Charterhouse, Cott. MSS. "Cleopatra," E. VI. fol. 179, and another from William Brooke and Bartholomew Burgoyne, Cott. MSS. "Cleopatra," E. IV. folio 38 A., &c., &c.

joined to accept with no delay "on the perill of their souls."

Then he sternly commanded all those in favour of the king's title to sit still, and all those who were not to depart out of the chapter-house without any delay.

When he had arrived at this stage of the argument, practical action soon followed. If the king were spiritually supreme, as Scripture taught, absolute obedience was their obvious and bounden duty. As an act of obedience, therefore—to show that they had accepted the new Gospel of the throne—they must immediately produce and give up the convent seal without murmur, and by act and deed—a form had already been prepared, and one of Bedyll's attendants had it—surrender the house and all its lands to the king, who wanted them. But all the nuns did not exactly follow this argument.

"I was informed this night," are Bedyll's exact but somewhat confused words to Cromwell, "that one Agnes Smith, a sturdy dame and a wilful, hath laboured divers of her sisters to stop that we should not have their convent seale, but," he went on to predict, with the confidence of an intrepid Inquisitor, "we trust we shall have it this morning, with the subscription of the abbess for herself and all her sisters, which is the best that we can bring it to." Such tactics, with such tools, and in such times, were of course in the long-run successful.

What followed can soon be told. In 1539 the abbey was formally and duly surrendered. There is no need to dwell on such a sad breach of trust. Nor are rash and random judgments to be hastily pronounced. For all of us will be respectively judged by our lights, advantages, and opportunities. The eye of a just and righteous God took in the trials and temptations of those who then succumbed. To Him, and not to us, belongs judgment: to Him mercy.

The gross annual revenues of the house, according to the present value of money, were nearly 20,000*l.* There is, it appears, no written record of the surrender in the Augmentation Office. The monks and nuns were turned out. Desolation reigned.

Agnes Jordan, the abbess, under whom the house was thus surrendered, retired with an annual grant of two hundred marks, which she received for three-and-twenty years.[1] According to her circumscribed opportunities, she still lived as a religious, and duly observed the rule of her order, until her death, in the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Under Queen Mary they went back to their house for a time. Agnes Jordan was

[1] I gather from an old document, unsigned and unauthenticated, in the handwriting of some sixteenth-century scribe, that "The Abbess of Sion, with fifty-one nuns, some lay sisters, twelve religious men and five lay brethren, in all seventy-three, were pensioned at the dissolution."

buried at the church of Denham, in Buckinghamshire, where her memorial brass still remains.[2] She is represented in her habit, with her hands joined. On her fingers are several rings. Margaret Windsor, the prioress, had a pension likewise. So, too, most of the others. Margaret Dely, another religious, sometime treasurer of the house, also lived and died at Isleworth, within sight of the old monastery.[3] Others did the same. The stalls of the chapel were empty, the sanctuary cold and tenantless, the altar unlighted, the bells silent; and yet some may have been still drawn towards their sacred and once-beautiful home. What these religious outcasts must have suffered at witnessing the Desolation of the place, few can tell. Like the abbess, the ex-treasurer never gave up her habit nor her monastic duties, but still continued to live as a nun until her death in 1561.

[2] Cole's MSS. (vol. xxviii. folio 69 c.) give the following inscription, long since lost :—

"Of your charity pray for the soule of Dame Agnes Jordan, sometyme Abbesse of the Monasterye of Syon, which departed this lyfe the 29th of Januarye, in the yeare of our Lord, 1562, on whose soule, Jesu have mercye. Amen."

[3] In Isleworth Church, dedicated in honour of All Saints', which stands close to the river Thames, there remains a small memorial brass commemorating this lady, who is represented in her habit with joined palms, with the following inscription :—

"Here lyeth the body of Margaret Dely, A Sister professed yn Syon who deceased ye viith of October, Ao. 1561, on whose soule Jhu have m'cy."

Her body found a resting-place in the parish church of Isleworth, and some friend put up a simple but sufficient memorial of her.

Amongst the names of the nuns at the period of the abbey's dissolution we find those of Bouchier, Tresham, Ogle, Conyers, Windsor, Montagu, Fettiplace, Knottesford, Lupton, Strange, and Fitzherbert, showing that this House of Sion was popular with the nobility and gentry as a place of retirement from the world and a retreat for their daughters.

* * * * * *

At the suppression of Sion House, the buildings were not given to any court favourite; but, on account of the beauty of the situation in which they stood, were retained in the king's hands, an esquire named Gates being appointed their keeper. In 1546 his successor, Robert Bouchier, was appointed to the same office for life.

The Library of Sion House had been well furnished with books, of which the Catalogue, in fine preservation, is still to be seen amongst Archbishop Parker's MSS., at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (No. cxli.). It is carefully, and even elaborately, written on vellum, and contains a list of some of the rarest MSS. and most important printed books then in existence. Thomas Gascoigne, sometime Chancellor of Oxford, had translated the "Life of St. Bridget," for the special use of the nuns of Sion, and had given to them by will

several other valuable volumes. In the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, is a curious MS. from Sion House, in which William Wey, of Eton College, records his foreign travels—amongst other places, to Jerusalem, Rome, Venice, and to the Shrine of St. James of Compostella, in Spain. In the Cambridge Public Library is another book from Sion House, a small folio on paper, *Formula Novitiarum*, written by Thomas Prestius, a Brother of Sion. Amongst the Cottonian MSS. there is also a small octavo *Breviarium Sarisburiensis*, which, from a writing on the fly-leaf, seems to have belonged to Elizabeth Edwards, a professed sister, in 1518,—the obits of whose family are all duly recorded.

There need be no speculation as to what was secured by the suppression of the monasteries; for documents still exist which provide accurate and detailed information.

In the Account-Roll of Sir John Williams, Master of the Jewel House, (afterwards Lord Williams of Thame,) appears an inventory of all the plate, jewels, and other valuables, obtained by the king from the plunder of the religious houses. From this it plainly appears that in plate alone there had been taken from the monasteries, cathedrals, and shrines, no less than 14,531 ounces of gold, 67,600 ounces of silver, and 207,635 ounces of silver-gilt, making, with the addition of some fractional parts, a total in gold and silver of rather

more than 289,768 ounces of plate. This was sold for 73,531*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.*, to which, if the further sum of 79,471*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* obtained in money, and entered on the same roll, be added, it is found that the gross amount becomes 153,003*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* derived to the exchequer, over and above the produce of all the lands, manors, and estates of the monasteries.

But these spoils seemed to perish in the very hands which had grasped them.

Increasing burdens were put upon the people, which rendered all classes more and more dissatisfied with the new order of things. Tenths from the clergy the king had already received; in addition to which he managed to secure a fifth of all the yearly revenues of the bishops; while from the laity, peasantry, and citizens, as well as noblemen, he likewise had secured a tithe; while from those who had no patrimony nor yearly revenue, his Majesty received a twentieth part of their moneys, goods, cattle, corn, fruit, and all kind of property whatsoever. In fact, the exactions he laid upon the people during the fifteen years which immediately followed those in which the abbeys had been suppressed, and their spoils squandered on base tools and foolish schemes, were such as that the deepest dissatisfaction existed, and taught some of the more thoughtful of the people that the rulers of a Christian nation cannot rob God with impunity.[4]

[4] Original Letters, Parker Society.—No. 105, Hilles to Bullinger.

"We have letten the new men come over us and plunder us," remarked a London citizen to his fellow, "and now the Lord punishes all; now we be likely to lose all, because His own houses be bare and desolate."[5]

"Was it God's will that the monks should be plundered, and turned out to starve and die?" pertinently asked another.

"Why aided ye them not in the North, then?" was the question in reply.

Tyranny and cruelty, without legal process, were of daily occurrence. Those of the king's officials who, taken from the lowest ranks, had secured the upper hand by subservience to him, when they had attained to power used it apparently without either consideration, self-respect, or check. What they willed they did. What they did, if for the behoof and personal benefit of the Supreme Head, they were allowed to do with impunity. What was eccentrically termed a "benevolence,"[6]—that is a good round sum of money, such as a well-filled casket of angels of a previous reign, before the coinage[7] had been shamefully alloyed,

[5] Author's MS. Notes and Extracts. William Bouchier's Letters.—Excerpts from the Rolls' MSS.

[6] These "benevolences" were paid most unwillingly, especially that of 1545. Richard Read, a London citizen, who declined to pay, was in return for his disobedience sent as a common soldier to the army in Scotland, where he was taken prisoner; having, by the king's express order, been put into various positions of great risk and danger.

[7] "On the king's accession to the throne, the ounce of gold

unostentatiously handed over by the accused person to one of the king's officers,—was often accepted in lieu of a trial, and stayed further proceedings. Henry's reign was, in truth, a reign of terror, corruption, scandals, and shame. No Christian Englishman can look back upon it without both a blush and a shudder.

It was likewise an age of tyranny, rapine, and plunder. For law was over-ridden or set aside, personal freedom carefully abolished, the grossest encroachments on the liberties of the people were rudely effected; while burdensome taxes were laid on the shoulders of those already most heavily burdened with taxation, unprecedented in amount. Moreover women were treated with the greatest and grossest cruelty,—cruelty which had scarcely been known in the reigns of previous chivalrous monarchs, and against which Christian rulers, guided by the Church, had heretofore set their faces. For, because of the Incarnation, and since the triumph of Christianity, women had

and the pound of silver were each of the value of forty shillings. But the king decided that they should represent forty-four and forty-five shillings. Numerous workmen were employed in debasing the coinage, by mixing with the gold or silver a certain quantity of alloy. The operation being terminated, the king had but one care, and that was to obtain possession of all the pieces of good alloy, which he sent to the Mint, and after being duly debased, again brought into circulation, gaining by this fraud several thousands of pounds sterling."—Author's MS. Notes and Collections.

ceased to be slaves, and were not tormented;[8] while slaves, made equal with their masters by baptism, had become subsequently free. To slit people's tongues, therefore, nail their ears to a post, hang them to a gibbet, and cut them down ere they were dead, roast them at the stake, or slowly butcher them alive, were deeds unworthy both of the king and people of a Christian country.

As thoughtful persons look back on the acts of King Henry VIII. they cannot but wonder that, as Death, tarried so long on the road, some earnest fanatic (certain people might term such a "patriot") did not rise up, and by some sharp and effectual action, rid an oppressed nation of so cruel and selfish a tyrant.

[8] The following is extracted from the Acts of the Privy Council: "Hampton Court, 18th January (year uncertain).—A letter under the stampe"—i. e. in which the king's sign manual was made by a stamp, and not by himself with a pen —"was sent unto the Deane of York and others, that whereas the king's Ma^tie being advertized by their letters written unto the M^r. of the Horses, and Mr. Secretarie Wriothesley of two women which had done and committed detestable offences in those partes, his Ma^ties. pleasure was that they should first cause the woman that burned the house to be indited of the said fact, and thereupon to be arraigned, and to see her put to execution of such death as by the lawe is limited and appointed in that behalf; and for the punishment of the other woman to cause her tongue to be pierced and slit through with a burning yron, to the intent she shall never after disclose her vicious and abominable doings."—"State Papers and Letters," Lib. Cotton. Titus B. I. 198 A.

Much of the evil lay at the doors of the nobility and gentry. The former, with but few exceptions only, had become thoroughly degenerate, and frequently base. They could not and did not lead. Actuated in some cases by cowardice, in others by ambition, they deliberately deserted the grand and noble cause of Liberty; and so left the people to suffer and to die.

The houses of Norfolk and Buckingham, of Howard and Fitz-alan, the noblest of the land, yielding in everything to the royal powers, were, with other of their peers, mainly responsible for the various illegal bills, bloody statutes, and godless measures, which tarnished this monarch's reign.

The commonalty, disunited and terrified, ceased to defend private interests, because the king's "trusty and well-beloved cousins" in the House of Lords had so often servilely refused to co-operate with them in resisting encroachment and withstanding the despotism of the king. As experience too truly taught, resistance by the Commons of themselves was perfectly unavailing.

Like his unusual and inconvenient corpulence,[9] his Majesty's bad temper and sudden irascibility largely increased as his end approached; and those who were his personal attendants found it

[9] "The Laird of Grange did say that Henry being corpulent and fat, there was small hope of his having heirs."—"Memoirs of Sir James Melville," *in loco*.

both irksome and disagreeable to be near him in his sufferings and violence. No doubt his pains were considerable; for the external sores of his body spreading, steadily increased, and became open wounds. He was moved about with difficulty. As the court physicians seemed wholly unable to grapple with the cause of his disease, they at last wisely aimed only at mitigating the painful results of it. A long list of the potions and powders swallowed by his Highness, with the hope of mollifying his wounds and soothing his irritability, remains on record still.[1] In most cases it ended in his decreasing the amount of the medicine, or refusing it altogether, and in adding to the number of goblets of wine of which he partook. The king himself came to the conclusion that after all white Gascony was the surest emollient: the physicians, on their part, recommended henbane leaves in powder and infusions of chamomile, but with little or no effect.

After dinner, when, overcome with wine, the king's temper was somewhat improved, so that those courtiers and flatterers who wished to secure their ends,—whether to depress and damage their enemies even unto death, or to serve and benefit themselves and their relations,—usually went to work with a purpose, and often obtained their requests: for wine, more especially when taken freely, made his Majesty's royal heart glad.

[1] Sloane MSS. British Museum, No. 1047, folios 5—34.

Others, at cards, chess or dice, deliberately allowed him to beat them and become the winner; because by so doing they gave him evident satisfaction; while the king,—if any player complained of the vastness of his losses,—was ready,—as in the case of Sir Miles Partridge, who in dicing had been a considerable loser, and was compensated by the beneficent gift of a broad and lofty belfry which then stood in St. Paul's Churchyard,—to bestow pleasant rewards upon all losers out of what was left of the plunder of abbeys and churches.

During the later years of his life he became both an inveterate glutton and an excessive winebibber. It seems probable from what is recorded [2] that day by day, after he had dined, he was so confused in what remained of his mind, and lost, as to have been scarcely responsible for his extraordinary actions. He ate and drank to excess in order to pamper a surfeited body, long grown obese and unwieldy to inconvenience. Its humours, by consequence, broke out in offensive sores, which so long as he continued to pamper it with high living, his two physicians, Butts and Chamber, told Queen Katherine Parr they were unable to heal and scarcely to mollify. He drank with freedom, so as to create oblivion; for sad memories constantly came up, and would not be dismissed.

To the royal table at dinner as many as twenty

[2] "Records of the Reformation," by the Rev. N. Pocock, M.A. vol. ii. p. 553.

courses, each consisting of no less than five dishes, were daily brought up and put before him. Fantastic and unwholesome compounds, and spiced delicacies from foreign parts, and Venetian comfits, were provided to stimulate the flagging appetite of the Supreme Head. Any novelty which residents abroad had by chance come across in their travels, was carefully entrusted to his Highness's chief cook, in order that it might be reproduced in English fashion for the royal palate. He was grateful, however, be it recorded, to those who had provided him with homelier and humbler fare, and rewarded one of them at least—a certain "Mistress Cornwallis," who had specially made and sent him some fine puddings,[3]—with part of the sacred buildings of a dissolved priory, as a regal thanksgiving and oblation for her devout and considerate attention. Again, in return for the present of a young and tender porkling, well cooked, of which, when dressed with sweet herbs, his Majesty was specially fond,[4] he graciously granted the donor a peel of ten bells from a religious house in Surrey.

Some ignorant and bigoted persons then living,

[3] "A fair house with divers tenements near adjoining, sometime belonging to a late dissolved priory, since possessed by Mistress Cornwallies, widow, and her heirs, by gift of Henry VIII. in reward of fine puddings, as it was commonly said, by her made, wherewith she had presented him."—Stowe's "Survey of London," p. 52. London: 1876.

[4] Joachim Le Grand, "Histoire du Divorce," &c. À Paris: 1688, *in loco*.

but obviously born long after their time, are said to have demurred to these acts of profuse bounty on the part of royalty. Such, however, could only have been found, amongst those more simple folks, who as yet had scarcely realized the existence in his Highness of those inherent spiritual gifts, of which the Supreme Head possibly believed himself to be the divinely-appointed possessor. If he were Head of the Church, and what "loyal subject" would doubt the fact—could he not do with church bells, towers, and priories, as he wished and willed? Of course he could. And so he did.

In fine, Brute Force, in the shape of an unwieldy and obese monarch, sat enthroned in white satin and Genoese velvet, under a canopy of cloth-of-gold—before which the timid and obsequious, chattering deferentially, were profuse in their laudations and with the most humble deference, constantly genuflected.[5]

He never lost his faith in the Blessed Sacrament.

[5] "Audley, the Lord Chancellor designedly introduced into his flattering harangues in the House of Peers, the epithets, 'most sacred Majesty,' 'most high and sacred Highness,' 'godly guide and spiritual Head,' at which words, the whole noble assembly, turning to the king on his throne, bowed themselves low and long with the profoundest external respect. The Chancellor had already informed Henry to his face that he was above all the princes of the earth for wisdom, eminence, beauty, grace, and knowledge; and that God, by the unction of consecration, had 'infused into his royal mind the Science of the Scriptures.'"—MSS. and Excerpts of the Author.

In all the bold sacrilege and legalized wickedness undertaken and carried out by him and his instruments, he steadily remembered the teaching of his childhood and his obvious duty to God. Whenever he found himself in the presence of the Sacred Host, let it be recorded that his reverence was most profound. Shortly before he died, when about to communicate, as he always had done, in one kind, he rose up by a great effort from his chair, feeble as he was, at the Sanctus, and fell down upon his sore and swollen knees at the Consecration to adore the Body of his Lord.

The Zuinglian preachers and pastors around him, as Sander states, urged him to communicate sitting, as his Majesty's weak state, they sympathizingly asserted, would perfectly justify such an attitude: that exact attitude which their own devotion thought suitable and sufficient,—more especially in a king.

But, putting grace aside, the king had the natural decency to make a crushing reply to these perverse and heretical tempters,—"If I could throw myself not only on the ground, but under the ground," he retorted promptly, "I should not hold myself to have given sufficient honour to the Most Holy Sacrament." Thus much to his credit.

At times, even during the day, when the end drew on, he was sorely disturbed in mind, rising up suddenly in his fitful sleep, muttering ambiguously or exclaiming commandingly, yet wildly,

pointing to vacancy, with a prolonged shudder, and sometimes with a sudden and piercing scream.

The attendants, as is said, heard him constantly ejaculating, "The friars, the friars! Blood and the block, lo! hither come the monks!"

But they dared not reply. It was their duty to be passive witnesses of his deep mental and bodily sufferings. The latter, his bodily sufferings, Dr. Butts and Dr. Chamber were near him to allay as well as their skill would allow; but the former concerned the physicians of the soul, and these, somehow or other, when the damps of death were on the king's forehead, were all absent. Cranmer was away at his palace at Croydon. No priest nor prelate dared approach him unless by command; nor did any servant-in-waiting propose to himself to indicate to his Highness the sure approach of that end which the physicians saw was slowly and steadily drawing on, but of which they hesitated to tell him. If such had been done, the rash doer of it, by a recent Act of Parliament, might, without any trial, have merited death.

At last, however, very early on Thursday morning, Sir Anthony Denny undertook to inform the king how near his end was. This faithful servant told him that there was then no hope, and advised him to turn his thoughts at once to repentance and to God.

Denny asked him if he wished to see a priest,

to which the king replied, "My Lord of Canterbury."

With all speed—but the roads were deep with snow, and hasty travelling impossible—a messenger was sent to Croydon, who brought back Cranmer late in the afternoon. But the king, in the meantime, had grown weaker and worse. He was often unconscious, and evidently sinking. When the Archbishop arrived, late in the evening, he found his Highness speechless. No sacrament was administered, nor formal prayers said. For several hours the king slept.

Cranmer, during the small hours of the night, implored the king to give those who stood round the royal bed some token that he died in the Christian Faith; and repeated his request, whenever an interval of consciousness supervened. At last the king raised his right hand, and gave it to the Archbishop.

"God be praised!" ejaculated Cranmer, stooping down to kiss the dying monarch's hand; who grasped him firmly as he so bent.

The end was now come. He turned from one side to the other, and made a sign to one of the attendants that his throat was parched.

Sir Francis Bryan at once handed him a cup of white wine; and then placed it to his bloodless lips.

He partly raised his head to drink it. But the effort was too much for him, he was only able to take a small draught.

"All is lost!" he feebly exclaimed with a shudder, falling back on to the pillow. There was a strange gurgling in his throat; he breathed hardly; his huge body quivered; his hands, clutching the samite bed-quilt, contracted; his jaw fell, and then—his spirit returned to the God Who had given it. . . .

In the fifty-sixth year of his age, having reigned more than thirty-seven years, he died early on Friday morning, sometime between two and three, on the 28th of January, in the year of grace 1547.

Many thanked God, with heartfelt gratitude that Death had at last overtaken the tyrant. The Duke of Norfolk in the Tower, awaiting the block, was no doubt amongst these. Such could surely now breathe freely, when they learnt that the last breath of this royal monster had been at length drawn.

Some, remembering what had been said fifteen years previously at Greenwich, asked their neighbours whether the Friar Peto's Prophecy would be fulfilled. Time would show.

An authentic but tedious and wordy record of the details of the king's funeral still exists, from which the following curious narrative—less than a third the length of the original—has been carefully drawn:—

After the corpse was cold, and seen by the Lords of the Privy Council, and other nobility of

the realm, commandment was given to the apothecaries, surgeons, wax-chandlers, and others, to do their duties in embalming, furnishing, and dressing it with spices, and also for wrapping the same in cerecloth of many folds over the fine cloth of Rheims and velvet, bound and trammeled with cords of silk; which was done accordingly; and a writing in great and small letters annexed against his breast, containing his name and style, the day of his death in like manner. Which being done, the chest was covered with blue velvet, and a cross set upon the same.

Then the corpse was placed in the midst of the privy chamber, and set upon tressels with a rich pall of cloth of gold, and a cross thereon, with lights thereto requisite; having divine service said about him, with masses, obsequies, and prayers; and continual watch made by his chaplains and gentlemen of his privy chamber, night and day, during the time of his abode there, which was five days.

In the meanwhile the chapel was duly prepared. Here the chambers, galleries, hall, &c., were hung with black and garnished with escutcheons. A goodly formal hearse was set up, with four-score square tapers, and at the four corners were banners of saints beaten in fine gold upon damask. At the foot, where the corpse should be reposed, stood an altar covered with black velvet, adorned with all manner of plate and jewels, where mass

was continually said. The high altar also was richly adorned.

The names of the mourners appointed to attend upon the corpse were, amongst others, the following:—Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, chief mourner, Lord St. John, Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, John Vere, Earl of Oxford, Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby, Ratclyffe, Earl of Sussex, William Dacre, Lord Dacre, and Edward Grey, Lord Grey.

Amongst the bishops appointed to execute divine service in the chapel, and attend the corpse, were Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, chief prelate, Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, and William Barlow, Bishop of St. David's. Gardiner was appointed to preach the sermon.

On the 2nd of February, being Wednesday, and Candlemas-day, between eight and nine o'clock at night, the hearse being lighted, and all things prepared, the royal corpse was removed from the chamber, where the king had died, covered with a rich pall of gold tissue, crossed with white tissue, and brought to the chapel,—the attendant noblemen and gentlemen going before and after with lights, where it was reverently placed upon the hearse already prepared. Watch was kept during the night; while prayers and suffrages were duly said by the chaplains.

On the following day, being Thursday, Feb-

ruary 3rd, between nine and ten a.m., the mourners assembled in the pallet chamber, in their mourning apparel, with hoods on their heads, and from thence proceeded in due order, till they came to the hearse, when they knelt about the corpse on either side, and the chief mourners at the head.

Here Norroy king-at-arms, at the quire door, with his face to the people, said with a loud voice, "Of your charity pray for the soul of the high and most mighty Prince, our late Sovereign Lord and King Henry VIII.," which he did daily at the beginning of all masses and dirges. And from the vestry of the chapel came out three bishops *in pontificalibus*, and began the *requiem* mass at the high altar, singing and saying the same in the most solemn and impressive manner. At the offertory the chief and other mourners in order arose and were conducted by gentlemen-ushers to make their offering, after which they returned to their former places. After mass was ended, the prelates censed the corpse, and returned to the vestry.

The mourners then were conducted to the chamber of presence, where a sumptuous dinner was prepared.

In the afternoon, at the appointed hour, all again assembled. Norroy king-at-arms came out and proclaimed the king's style, bidding the prayers, when the prelates began the *Placebo* and *Dirige*. The same services, ceremonies, with

masses, and other rites and duties, were repeated every day so long as the body remained in the chapel, which was twelve days.

In the meantime hearses were prepared at Sion and Windsor, with equal magnificence to that which already has been described, very gorgeous; the one at Windsor being of wonderful state and proportion, curiously wrought, painted and gilded, and having lights, amounting in price of wax to four thousand pounds weight.

The floor of the choir was completely spread with black cloth, and the hangings were of black, elaborately garnished with escutcheons of arms and alliances, and with hatchments of silk and gold.

A sumptuous and valuable chariot was also prepared. It was very long and large, on four wheels, with four pillars, overlaid with cloth of gold, with a pillow of gold tissue, and rich hangings of blue velvet, fringed with blue silk and gold.

In preparation for the journey to Windsor, orders were taken for clearing and mending the roads between Westminster and the Royal Chapel of St. George; and where the ways were narrow hedges were cut down, and free passage made.

The king's almoner, Lord Worcester, daily distributed to poor people at Westminster and Charing Cross, and other places on the road, "great plenty of money" in alms, especially in London.

Two carts laden with hatchments and es-

cutcheons, with certain money, were distributed to the parishes along the way, i. e. amongst others, to the curates and clerks of Charing Cross, St. Giles-in-the-fields, Chelsea, Hammersmith, Fulham, Twickenham, Hounslow, Chiswick, Eton, Acton, Sion, Hanwell, Iver, Colnbrook, Staines, Drayton, Langley, and Windsor.

When the corpse approached any particular parish, the clergy of these churches enumerated, stood in the way; and bidding prayers devoutly censed the corpse as it proceeded. This was done all along the way between Westminster and Windsor.

These and all other things duly arranged, on Sunday morning, February 13th, were sung in the chapel three solemn masses by bishops *in pontificalibus* in "sundry suits." The first mass of Our Lady, in white; the second mass of the Trinity, in blue; the third a mass of *requiem*, in black, by the Bishop of Winchester. At every mass, two bishops mitred, ministered as Epistoler and Gospeller. After mass the prelates censed the corpse, singing *Libera me, Domine.*

The same day proclamation was made that all allowed black liveries by the king should attend the next day, at five o'clock, at Charing Cross, to conduct the corpse to Sion that night, during which solemn watch, with continual prayer and lights, was there duly kept.

The next day, February 14th, the corpse was

again placed with great reverence on the chariot at the hall door, by mitred prelates and temporal lords.

The bishops went two and two in order, saying prayers; torches were carried by sixteen yeomen of the guards, on each side of the body. Then followed the mourners. Over the coffin was placed a pall of cloth of gold, upon which was set a waxen representation of the king richly apparelled, holding a sceptre of gold in his right hand, and in his left the orb with a cross. Upon the head was a crown of great value. The figure was also decorated with a collar of the garter and a golden garter. Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Herbert accompanied the chariot with the corpse.

First of all rode the porters of the king's house, with staves, to clear the way; then came the sergeant of the vestry and the verger; after him the cross, with the children, clerks, and priests of the chapel in their surplices, singing their oraisons and prayers. On either side of them, from the cross to the bier, went two hundred and fifty poor men in long mourning gowns and hoods, having the royal badge on their shoulders. On each hand of them went two carts laden with torches, to replace those that were burnt out, Next came various standards and banners borne by the appointed heralds, on either side of the peers and bishops, who were followed by the Ambassador of the Emperor and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Twelve "banners of descents," borne by various knights, immediately preceded the chariot, or bier, containing the corpse. This was drawn by seven strong horses, trapped in black velvet and garnished with escutcheons of the king's arms, and led by seven persons in mourning. The chief mourner followed alone, and the other mourners went two and two, upon horses, all draped in black. Then followed the king's chamberlain, and next after him the master of the horse, bareheaded, leading the king's horse, trapped in cloth of gold down to the ground. Then in order came the various officers of the household and of the guard. So in time they came to Brentford, and then on to Sion House, where they were met by the gentlemen, knights, and aldermen of London, and many noblemen who lived thereabouts.

Here the funeral procession stopped, as arranged, for the night. Here, half-way from London to Windsor, the journey was properly broken. The king had been dead a fortnight when this desecrated House was reached. Arrangements had been made beforehand for fitting up the chapel for the funeral services, and workmen had been sent down from London to do this. No expense seems to have been spared to prepare the desolate and deserted sanctuary for the reception of the king's corpse.

At about two o'clock in the afternoon the hearse rested at the gateway or porch of the Church

of Sion. Here the coffin was placed on the hearse already prepared; and after the bedes were bidden by Norroy king-at-arms, at the choir door, the bishops sang and said the various appointed prayers, and finally censed the body.

That night the Lord Great Master charged the watch about the corpse, which was kept with great reverence and devotion. What then happened shall be told in the words of an ecclesiastic at once trustworthy and competent: "At what time his (the king's) dead corpse was carried from London to Windsor, there to be interred, it rested the first night at the monastery of Sion, which the king had suppressed. At which time, were it for the jogging and shaking of the chariot, or for any other secret cause, the coffin of lead wherein his dead corpse was put, being riven and cloven, all the pavement of the church was, with the fat and the corrupt putrefied blood dropped out of the said corpse, foully imbrued. Early in the morning, those that had the charge of the dressing, coffining, and embalming of the body, with the plumbers repaired thither to reform the mistake, and *lo! suddenly, was there found among their legs a dog lapping and licking up the King's blood, as it chanced to King Ahab before specified!* This chance one William Consett reported, saying he was there present, and with much ado drove away the said dog."[6]

[6] Archdeacon Harpsfield's Treatise, Book II. p. 142.

And so Peto's Prophecy was exactly fulfilled.

At three o'clock the next morning all again assembled in the church, where "many masses were sung and said at many altars:" after which the corpse was again set upon the chariot, and the procession, formed as previously, went on to Windsor.

Those who had known of the fulfilment of Peto's Prophecy, were silent and contemplative and awed. It was spoken of amongst a few, in whispers and an undertone. But the report soon spread, and could not be stayed in its progress. The funeral procession went forward from town to town towards Windsor, at each of which places the clergy came forth to receive the corpse with prayers and incense; while the bells were tolled in every church, and the country people gathered in crowds.

At Eton, the provost, who was Bishop of Carlisle, *in pontificalibus*, and all the masters and fellows of the college, with the scholars in white surplices holding lighted tapers, sang the seven penitential psalms: and when the corpse approached, knelt and censed it, singing *De profundis* and other appropriate prayers. And so it came at length to Windsor.

Here the body was solemnly removed, with all due honour, to the magnificent hearse prepared for it in St. George's Chapel. At the high altar the Bishop of Winchester, attended by the other

prelates, said *Dirige* and performed the accustomed ceremonies, the Queen and the whole court being present; after which all departed, and the watch appointed as before. On the next day, at four o'clock in the morning, lauds were said by the priests, and the bedes bidden. Then the mass of the Trinity was said by the Bishop of Ely, assisted by two bishops mitred; "which mass," it is recorded, "was solemnly sung in prick-song descant, and organ playing, to the offertory; then the chief mourner offered gold at the altar and returned to his place."

Two other masses followed, one by the Bishop of London, at which the Knights of the Garter offered according to custom. Then came the mass of *requiem* celebrated by the Bishop of Winchester, with the Bishops of London and Ely as deacon and sub-deacon. All the officers of the court, together with the archbishop and the king's executors, then offered according to their estates and degrees; and the Bishop of Winchester preached from the text, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord;" showing, as is on record, "the pitiful and dolorous loss that all manner of men had sustained by the death of so great and gracious a king." After the last gospel, the bishops censed the corpse for the last time, the vault was uncovered, and the body duly let down into it. When the officiating bishop said, "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," the officers

of State broke their rods and threw them into the grave. *De profundis* was then chanted, and so Garter king-at-arms, standing in the midst of the choir, proclaimed the new monarch. And all cried out, "Long live the noble King Edward."

Thus the last rites were over. Everything was completed before six o'clock of the morning. The workmen finally arranged the gorgeous coffin in its proper place in the royal vault; and there it remained as placed, until it was opened and examined in 1813, by some over-curious individuals, who, because a workman had accidentally or intentionally split the outer oak, and battered the leaden coffin, had the lid of the latter removed, in which they found little else than a large decaying skeleton, more than six feet in length, lying in the dust of cerements and cedar-wood.

The king's Will, as regards its spirit, terms, and phraseology, belonged wholly to the old order of things.[1] No evidence of the existence of "the new learning," or Cranmer's new religion, could be found in it from beginning to end. He partly acknowledged his previous cruelties to his first wife by appointing their daughter Mary heir to the throne,

[1] "On the Feast of St. Stephen, 1546, the king had his will made, or, to be more accurate, he then had it amended and revised—for it had been originally drawn up prior to the war with France,—and nothing could be more Catholic than its terms and dispositions."—Author's MSS. and Excerpts. Bouchier's Letters.

after his son Edward. By the same act and deed he admitted Elizabeth's illegitimacy. He ordered numerous masses and prayers to be said for his own soul for ever; but, in this particular, his wishes—save at his pompous funeral—were wholly and altogether disregarded. He himself had destroyed chantries and robbed the dead; so in his turn, and in this particular, he was both neglected and forgotten.

His son Edward had been instructed by the Calvinistic teachers around him to believe in the sure "election" of himself and his sire, and possibly of all the members of the royal family; so after the funeral, he wrote to his sister Mary bidding her dry her tears, and rest perfectly confident that their royal father had gone at once straight to Heaven.[8]

Before the last words are written, let it be clearly seen and realized what during his reign the king had done and sanctioned. To sum up and to be brief:—Authority forbad him the desired divorce. He had been warned by Pope Clement VII. not to marry Anne Boleyn, but that step, as far as could be, was already taken on Nov.

[8] "It is an error of nature," to weep and lament. "We have not lost our father; he who lived with God is now enjoying the repose of everlasting happiness. To continue any longer to mourn for him would be to offend that God, Whose Will has been accomplished."—For the original of this, see Harl. MSS. No. 35, *in loco.*

14th, 1532. From that day the flood-gates of a sea of troubles for the kingdom were opened, and those troubles steadily increased. The block, the halter, and the gibbet were in constant requisition.

Elizabeth Barton, the Kentish nun, and her "accomplices," as they were termed, suffered for having spoken against the king. These accomplices were John Dering and Edward Bocking, two monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, Richard Master, parson of Aldrington, Henry Hold, a priest, with Richard Master and Richard Risby. Drawn on hurdles from the Tower to Tybourne, they were there hanged and beheaded.

In 1534 the Friars Observants, because of their public expostulations and sermons, were ordered abroad, and all their houses suppressed. Dr. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, had been already sent to the Tower. In 1535, first three Carthusian Priors suffered, and then three other monks of the same order.[9]

In June, Bishop Fisher was beheaded, and in July, Sir Thomas More, to the horror of Christian Europe, endured a similar death. Anne Boleyn, and the accomplices of her sins, suffered in 1536. Rochester and Walver, Carthusian monks, were hung for denying the royal supremacy a year later; when nine monks of the same order were starved to death in Newgate.

[9] Concerning Richard Reynolds and the Charterhouse monks, see Cotton. MSS. "Vespasian," A. xxv. folio 40.

John Forrest, who had been confessor to Queen Katherine, also suffered by being burnt alive. He had entered the Order of St. Francis when less than seventeen years of age; had "made his religious profession" (as the phrase stands) in the house of the Observants at Greenwich, and subsequently became Provincial of the Order. Queen Katherine is known to have entertained a high opinion of his prudence, discretion, and piety; and he was even spoken of by the innovating party with respect, as a man of wisdom and learning. Resistance to the king's will brought him to the stake.

In July, 1538, Cort, a Franciscan, who denied the Royal Supremacy, was starved to death. Lambert, a Zuinglian, was also burnt to death four months afterwards. The Vicar of Wandsworth was put to death, in the summer of 1539, for denying the king's new title of "Supreme Head;" while, three months later on, the Abbots of Reading, Colchester, and Glastonbury were hanged, drawn, dismembered, disembowelled, beheaded, and their bodies divided into four parts.

In May of 1540, Dr. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Wilson were put into the Tower, because they had been guilty of treason in having sent alms to one Abel; who, having been imprisoned for denying the Supremacy, was found, as Stowe relates, "almost eaten up by worms,"

prior to his being put to death. With him suffered Featherstone and Powell, for a like offence. The Prior of Doncaster, Laurence Cook, Brownholme, a priest, and four others, on the 4th of August, were also hanged, drawn, and quartered for a similar act of treason.

And now we turn over this dark leaf to find a darker still. Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, without either arraignment or trial, was cruelly beheaded. On the 28th of May, 1541, this aged and venerable lady, sprung from the royal house of York, underwent a blessed death. Her father was George, brother of King Edward IV. The only charge brought against her was that she, being the mother of Reginald Cardinal Pole, had received letters of filial duty from him, without the king's knowledge, and that she sometimes wore on her breast a representation of the Five Sacred Wounds of our Lord, which the king maintained to be a clear proof of her favour for those who had adopted those sacred symbols as a badge when they took up arms in the North in defence of the ancient faith. But the truth is, that, as the tyrant was unable to lay hands upon her son the Cardinal, who had written so beautifully and powerfully in defence of the Church's Visible Unity, he seized the person of the Cardinal's mother and wreaked his vicious vengeance on this royal and right noble lady.

On the 1st of July, 1541, Sir David Jenson,

Knight of the Order of St. John, was put to death for refusing to accept the king's supremacy. During all the period from the marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn, thousands were cruelly imprisoned, heavily fined, for the most trivial faults, if faults at all,[1] worried, "tamed" (as it was phrased), tortured and slowly done to death. The prisons were crowded. Cruelties abounded.

But the record is by no means complete, even yet. Early in March, 1544, Mr. Germain Gardiner, secretary to the Bishop of Winchester, John Lacke, Rector of Chelsea, John Ireland, priest, sometime chaplain to Sir Thomas More, William Ashby, James Singleton, John Risby, and Thomas Rich, refusing to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy, were tried, convicted, and condemned to death. The dreadful story always ends in the same terms, thus:—"They were drawn, hanged, dismembered, bowelled, and quartered." In fine, no less than 72,000 persons are said to have received the punishments of death.

[1] The following is taken verbatim from certain Acts of the Privy Council—"Sir Thomas Horton, Vicar of Cawne [i. e. Calne], in the countie of Wilts, was sent upp by Sir Henry Long, Knight, as suspect to be a Papiste, for having Thomas Beckett's name in one of his bookes; and being examined before the said Counsaill, and, appearinge, as farr as could be gathered to have left the same unput out [out] of neglicence rather than malice, was bound in a recognizance of forty pounds."—"State Papers and Letters," Bib. Cotton. "Titus," B. I. folio 198.

in one form or another, during King Henry's reign—an awful and appalling fact. Nor were Tudor tyranny and bloodshed buried at his pompous funeral. They survived him, alas! for many years.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that the king patronized those who were learned and accomplished, both in Church and State, and in this he did well and wisely. Sir Thomas More was unquestionably a great lawyer, a man of integrity, incorruptible, and of much saintliness and simplicity of life. Wolsey, whatever judgment may be passed upon him as regards his ambition[2] and

[2] It seems tolerably certain that Wolsey had intrigued to be elected Pope. Evidence of his hopes and anticipations still remain in a letter to the king, preserved amongst the archives of the ducal house of Grafton. "For which cause," wrote the Cardinal, "though afore God I repute myself most unmeet, and unliable to so high and great a dignity, desiring rather much to devote, continue, and end my life with your grace, for doing of such poor service as may be to your honour, and wealth of this your realm than to be Pope."

To which the king replied—the MS. is still in existence—"that having his perfect and firm hope that of the same shall come, in brief time a general and universal repose, tranquillity, and quietness in Christendom; and as great renown, honour, profit, and reputation to this realm as ever was, shall speedily ensue."

The Cardinal, active and designing, wrote as follows to Bishop Clerke, the ambassador at Rome, "My Lord of Bath,—Howbeit great dexterity is to be used, and the king thinketh that all Imperials shall be clearly with you, if faith be in the Emperor. The young men,"—i. e. the younger of the cardinals—"for the

certain details of his career as a minister, was on the whole a great ecclesiastical statesman. Of but humble birth, him the king had exalted. Gardiner, a dexterous controversialist, was a theologian of repute and an ambassador of influence. Lord Berners, a close student of history; Sir Thomas Wyatt a poet of some strength and sweetness. The noble John Fisher was a prelate of eminent sanctity and great moral and intellectual power; Pace, whose interesting State Papers can still be read in his own clear handwriting, an ambassador of discretion and repute. John Leland had been the king's librarian, and became an antiquary of learning, research, and exactness,—to whom later generations are deeply indebted. Skelton, the satirist, had been distinctly patronized by his Majesty, while John Heywood had received similar royal favours. It must be frankly allowed, therefore, that King Henry had surrounded himself, at the outset of his reign, with learned, virtuous, and able men.

On the other hand,—after his palpable fall from virtue,[3] consummated in the divorce of his

most part being needy, will give good ears to fair offers, which shall be undoubtedly performed,"—i. e. the promised or proffered bribes shall be duly paid. "The king," continued the Cardinal, "willeth you neither to spare his authority or his good money or substance. *You may be assured whatever you promise shall be performed*, and the Lord send you good speed. Your loving friend.—T. CARD. EBORAC."

[3] At his accession he was most popular. Being handsome,

lawful queen, and after his marriage with Anne Boleyn,—he turned from men of principle to men of corrupt minds and shameful deeds. The chief offices of state were filled with persons of unexampled infamy and degradation. Amongst these were Cromwell and Cranmer,[4]

and dignified, and of noble form and features, his subjects welcomed his rule with universal acclamations, for he was regal, knightly and soldierly in his bearing. Lord Mountjoy in writing to Erasmus, penned the following exaggerated sentiments :— "Beloved Erasmus, I do not for a moment doubt that your sorrow will be suddenly changed into joy on hearing that Henry *Octavius* hath succeeded to his father. Oh, if you could but witness the happiness of the people you would weep for joy. Heaven smiles, the earth leaps with gladness, everything around seems redolent of milk, honey, and nectar."

[4] "It has always, since I learnt the truth about Cranmer, been a marvel to me how any one with a sense of religion, of honour, of manly feeling, can look on him with any sentiments save those of disgust and indignation. I have ever held that courage in a man ranks with purity in a woman, and tested by any such comparison, Cranmer must take his stand with Lais and Messalina, nay, with the nameless depravities which we associate with Faustina and Sappho. Every crime which tempted him he committed, every crime which any one in power wished to commit, he assisted or condoned. If Nathan, instead of denouncing David in the parable of the Ewe Lamb, had pronounced a sentence of divorce between Uriah and Bathsheba, and had countersigned the fatal missive to Joab; if Elijah, instead of meeting Ahab with the message of divine vengeance at the entrance of Jezreel, had presided over the mock court which condemned Naboth, and had been rewarded for his subserviency by a rent-charge on the vineyard; if Daniel had at once sacrificed his religion at the ukase of Darius; if John Baptist had consented to perform the rite of

Audley,[5] Rich, and Russell: while those of inferior rank or low birth who were ennobled—the Seymours, the Paulets, the Pagets, and the Cavendishes—and enriched through the spoils of the monasteries, sprang up from their native penury and insignificance almost in a night, like mushrooms, and became the founders of our modern peerage. As for the clergy whom he promoted and put in the forefront, the less said of them the better; while those persons whom Cromwell appointed as Commissioners did their work, to say the least, in a manner and by a method worthy of their master.[6]

marriage between Herod Antipas and Herodias, Philip's wife, how would we loathe their memories! And yet each of them, had he stopped short there, would have been incomparably less guilty than Thomas Cranmer, whose whole life was a tissue of like acts."—Letter of the Rev. Dr. Littledale to the Rev. J. G. Cazenove, dated September 16, 1869.

[5] Audley, already surfeited with their spoils, is said to have asked of the king the grant of one more abbey, Walden,—equal to Hampton Court in its size and splendour, as Dugdale admits,—which, having seen, he specially coveted, in return for "the infamy he had sustained in serving the king's highness."—See Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," *in loco*.

[6] The Monastic Inquisitors had ostentatiously paraded their contempt for religion to the world in the course of their progress. Hating the monks with a Satanic dislike, and equally despising the secular clergy,—save that limited section which silently tolerated their arrogant and sacrilegious proceedings,—they exhibited their intense scorn in various external acts. At the inns and taverns at which they and their servants put up, the Commissioners would drink the king's health in sack or small beer from the jewelled chalices taken from the adjoining monas-

The king's special cruelty to his wives and women was unchristian, unmanly, and shameful. Queen Katherine had ever been most devout—leading a life of great virtue and piety. Highly accomplished, she was a model of every feminine grace. She often rose at midnight to recite the Hours of the Blessed Virgin; she wore frequently the habit of St. Francis, fasted every Friday and Saturday, and ate only bread and water on the various festivals of Our Lady. She heard mass daily, confessed twice a week, and communicated every Sunday;—in fact a model wife. And yet—let the history of her sorrows be read, not in historical romances, but in authentic contemporary records, and then let judgment be passed on her cruel and deceitful husband. His treatment of Anne Boleyn, his mistress, was sharp and needlessly unjust. So too was that treatment

tery, which they produced from their bags, as at once a token of their authority and success; while the doublets of their servants and the saddlecloths of their horses had been made out of altar-frontals, chasubles, or copes. One of these, Dr. London, afterwards Dean of Windsor, was found guilty of perjury. Stripped of his dignities he was compelled to ride through the streets of Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with his face to the horse's tail; and with a paper on his hat setting forth that he was a convicted perjurer. He was then put into the pillory, and after being confined in the Fleet Prison, died miserably. John Ap Rice, another of these, was knighted by Edward VI. on his coronation day. Sir John Williams, who had likewise so served the king, was created Lord Williams of Thame (though the patent was never enrolled) by Queen Mary.

which Katherine Howard[7] received; for her guilt, as competent writers admit, was exceedingly doubtful. In truth, his reign was rife with injustice, rapine, murders, tyranny, and deceit.

The king in his early youth had studied theology, of which he knew sufficient to be often impatient of the Zuinglian glosses presented to him: and to become angry if in argument "the new learning" were pressed too far by impatient innovators. With the exception of the personal Supremacy of himself, which Cromwell and his allies invented to suit exceptional difficulties, and with which they induced Parliament to endow him, as far as Parliament was able, he appears to have held theoretically the Christian faith.

[7] Of her, before her marriage, Sir William Paget thus wrote: —"Upon a notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and maidenly behaviour in Mistress Katherine Howard, his Highness was finally contented to honour that lady with his marriage, thinking in his old days, after sundry troubles of mind which had happened to him by marriage to have obtained such a jewel for womanhood and very perfect love towards him, as should not only have been to his quietness, but also have brought forth the desired fruits of marriage."—Privy Council to Sir John Paget, "Acts of Privy Council," vol. vii. p. 352. As regards this lady, Mr. Henry Hallam, in his "Constitutional History of England," Ed. 1850, vol. i. chap. 1, p. 33, foot-note, writes thus:—"Katherine Howard's post-nuptial guilt must remain very questionable, which makes her execution and that of others who suffered with her, another of Henry's murders. There is too much appearance that Cranmer, by the king's order, promised that her life should be spared, with a view of obtaining a confession of a pre-contract with Denham."

Of music King Henry knew much. Some of his personal compositions are said to be still in existence: proving that the science of melody and harmony had been mastered by him; that he was accomplished, and owned both taste and dexterity.

* * * * *

A few words may be here properly added concerning Sion House, and its scattered religious.

Under Queen Mary, on the 1st of August, 1557, the expatriated nuns were recalled from their exile, and reinstated in their monastery, by the Bishop of London: the Abbot of Westminster, and several religious of the order being present. According to Fuller, some few of the old nuns had become secularized. Those willing, however, were incorporated by letters patent, as before the dissolution, and Catherine Palmer was appointed their abbess. No less than seventeen sisters returned to their old home, devoting themselves afresh, and in community, and with renewed good resolutions, to the service of Almighty God. The house was subsequently suppressed by Queen Elizabeth.

Having first gone to Dermond, in Flanders,[8] they subsequently went to Rouen and then to Lisbon, returning to England in 1809. They had

[8] "The Nuns of Sion House retired into the Low Countries, and continued to live in community."—See "Archæologia," vol. xvii. p. 326.

suffered much, but had never forgotten their old traditions, nor the former glories of Sion. They brought with them an original portrait on panel of their founder King Henry V., the old keys of Sion House, some official seals, vestments, and several other curiosities and relics of interest to their order.[9]

Sion House in its present state, it may be remarked in conclusion, stands near the banks of the Thames, between Brentford and Isleworth, a little to the left of the Great Western Road to Bath. The existing mansion is substantially that which under Edward VI., Protector Somerset erected out of the materials of the former monastic buildings. It had been granted to him by King Edward VI. in the first year of his reign. When, in 1552, he was attainted and executed, the mansion was confiscated to the crown. It is built in the form of a quadrangle, in the centre of which is an area eighty feet square. The house is of three stories in height, with battlements all round, and square towers at the corners. Amongst its

[9] The late John, Earl of Shrewsbury, had in his possession the Martyrology of Sion House, five old seals, i. e. the matrices themselves, which the modern representatives of the nuns of old Sion House brought over to England with them in the year 1809, when they came hither from Lisbon, together with a curious silver bell, several MSS. of interest, and three copes —one now in the South Kensington Museum, most curious and interesting—of age as early possibly as the reign of Henry V. —Author's MS. Notes and Excerpts.

artistic treasures is an original portrait on panel of Queen Mary, said to have been given to the restored nuns by the queen herself. It passed from one of the Fermors, of Oxfordshire, to the families of Phillips and Lee, in the same county; but is now in the possession of the present owner of Sion House, the Duke of Northumberland.

No. VIII.

THE DEATH OF JOHN PAINE, A.D. 1582, AND OF EDMUND GENNINGS, A.D. 1591.

"The will of prince and peer,
Embodied in a stern and bloody law—
Law, trailing curses for fair name and fame,
Declared that any subject of the king
Receiving gifts of sacerdotal grace
Beyond the boundary of his island home,
Should be accounted foe to king and state,
Should merit surely a true traitor's doom
The hurdle, halter, and the hangman's steel.

* * * * *

In faith and charity he bore them all.
Accused in formal charge of crime, no crime.
He, like his Master, answer'd not, but bade
The Judge pronounce the sentence. So it fell.
He died near Tyburn at the break of day.
For him the followers of an ancient faith
Made intercession, morn and noon and eve;
For him old England's saints outstretch'd their hands
Before High God, shut in by cherubim;
For Him the angels lifted up their voice;
For Him the Blessed Mother of our Lord
When furious fire should burn, and flesh should shrink,
Pleaded for dew from heaven o'er his soul."

THE BELLS OF BOTTEVILLE TOWER.

"*He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the Book of Life; but I will confess his name before my Father and before His angels.*"—Revelation iii. 5.

No. VIII.

THE DEATH OF JOHN PAINE, A.D. 1582, *AND OF EDMUND GENNINGS*, A.D. 1591.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth the severities of her father's reign were duly repeated. Enactments which had been repealed under Queen Mary were again enacted. Those who, in their private judgment, preferred the old religion, or "the ancient faith," as they termed it, were not allowed to do so. Fines, imprisonments, the halter, the rack, and the axe, were all enlisted on behalf of the so-called "Royal Supremacy;" and misery, sufferings, misfortune, and banishment ensued.

Numerous Acts of Parliament gave to those in authority full opportunity for perpetrating their cruelties. One such, but by no means the only one, entitled "An Act against Jesuits, Seminary

Priests, and other such-like disobedient persons,"[1] decreed as follows :—

"Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful to or for any Jesuit or seminary priest, or other such priest, or religious or ecclesiastical person whatsoever, being born within this realm, or any other her Highness' dominions, and heretofore since the said Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in the first year of her Majesty's reign, made, ordained, or professed, or hereafter to be made, ordained, or professed, by any authority or jurisdiction, derived, challenged, or pretended, from the See of Rome, by or of what name, title, or degree soever the name shall be called or known, to come into, be, or remain in any part of this realm, or any other her Highness' dominions after the end of the same forty days: other than in such special cases, and upon such special cases only, and for such time only, as is expressed in this Act: and if he do, that then every such person shall be taken and adjudged to be guilty of high treason, and every person so offending shall, for his offence, be adjudged a traitor, and shall suffer, lose, and forfeit, as in case of high treason."

From accounts of persons who suffered, those of two clergymen of high character and great piety and devotion are now to set forth, not with rhetorical sentences, nor with any garnishing of the

[1] Stat. 27 Elizab. c. 2.

imagination; but from documents left to record what exactly happened,—documents which so many authors when writing a history of the past either ignorantly or intentionally ignore. So that for generations there have been alone supplied as history, romances, in which only one side of disputed facts have been set forth, and the other wholly ignored.

The following old-fashioned, quaint, but simple record, tells its own melancholy story :—

"John Paine was born in Northamptonshire. In what college he was educated in either of our universities at home I have not found; but he was admitted into the English college of Douay, in 1575, ordained priest the following year, and sent upon the English mission at the same time with Mr. Cuthbert Maine, and there laboured with great fruit.

"His residence was chiefly in Essex, at the house of Lady Petre. He was apprehended and committed in 1581, and carried to the Tower of London, where he was most cruelly racked."

But his trial and execution was at Chelmsford, in Essex, of which take the following extract from an unexceptionable witness :—

"The 20th of March, 1582, Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, came to Mr. Paine's chamber-door, and by knocking raised him out of bed, who had much watched before, and hastened to come forth half dressed, not telling him to what

end; but being afterwards advertised how the matter stood, and perceiving that he was to be removed 'from the Tower to Chelmsford gaol,' desired leave to return into his chamber to make himself ready, and to fetch his purse, which he had left behind him; but this was not granted, but he was delivered to certain officers there attending, to be conducted into Essex, according to the appointment of the Council. Mr. Paine in his cassock only, went forward with them, being the more gently dealt with that he was not bound at all. In the meantime the Lady Hopton took care to secure his purse for her own use.

"On Friday following he was arraigned after this manner: first, his indictment was read, viz. that Mr. Paine should utter to one Eliot, at a certain Christmas, lying with him in his chamber, that many devices have been heretofore concerning the change of religion, and yet none have prosperously succeeded; 'but of all others this seemeth the best which I have heard,' said he, 'sometime mentioned by the Earl of Westmoreland, Dr. Allen, and Dr. Bristow, that fifty men, well appointed with privy coats and daggers, should espy some opportunity when the queen was in her progress, and kill the queen's Majesty, the Earl of Leicester, and Mr. Walsingham, and then proclaim the Queen of Scots. Also that he should say, it was no greater sin to kill the queen, than to despatch a brute beast.'

"This being read, Mr. Paine denied the indictment, and defied all treason; protesting that he always, in mind or word, honoured the queen's Majesty above any woman in the world; that he would gladly always have spent his life for her pleasure in any lawful service; that he prayed for her as for his own soul; that he never invented or compassed any treason against her Majesty, or any of the nobility of England.

"However, Eliot swore that the indictment was true; and to this positive deposition, Mr Morrice, the queen's counsellor, joined several presumptions from Mr. Paine's having gone beyond the seas, and having been made priest by the Bishop of Cambray; and consequently, as he falsely supposed, having taken an oath to the Pope: from his having spoken with traitors in Flanders, viz. with the Earl of Westmoreland, Dr. Allen, and Dr. Bristow; and travelled with a traitor's son, Mr. William Tempest.

"To these presumptions Mr. Paine answered, that to go beyond the seas was not a sufficient token of a traitor, nor yet to be made priest by the Bishop of Cambray; for so were many others, nothing at all thinking of treason; that for his part, he was not the Pope's scholar, neither had any maintenance of him; for when he was at the college, it had as yet no pension from the Pope. That he had never talked with the Earl of Westmoreland; and that Dr. Allen and Dr. Bristow

had never talked to his knowledge, of any such things: that Mr. Tempest was an honest gentleman, and never talked to him about treason; neither was it unlawful for him to keep him company, seeing that he was a servant to a right honourable counsellor, Sir Christopher Hatton.

"He repelled Eliot's deposition. First, taking God to witness on his soul that he never had such speech with him.

"Secondly, he brought two places of scripture, and a statute, to prove that without two sufficient witnesses no man should be condemned.

"Thirdly, he proved Eliot insufficient to be a witness; for having been guilty, 1st, Of oppression of poor men, even unto death; 2ndly, Of a rape and other notorious lewdnesses; 3rdly, Of breach of contract, and cozening the Lady Petre, widow of Sir William Petre, of money; 4thly, Of changing often his religion; 5thly, Of malice against himself; adding, that he was also attached of murder, and such like acts; and was furthermore and finally a notorious dissembler.

"Hereupon a jury was impanelled, who, on Friday after dinner, brought in their verdict '*Guilty.*' Upon Saturday, a little before dinner, coming again to the bar, Judge Gaudy asked Mr. Paine what he could say for himself; who answered, *that he had said sufficiently*, alleging *that it was against the law of God and man that*

he should be condemned for one man's witness notoriously infamous.

"Then the judge said, if he were not guilty the jury would have found it. Mr. Paine answered, '*That those men of the jury are poor ignorant men, not at all understanding what treason is. But,* says he, *if it please the queen and her council that I should die, I refer my cause to God.*'

"Then the judge said, 'that his own words made most against him, and if Eliot had sworn falsely, his death should be required at his hands, the which no man knew but God and himself.'

"Mr. Paine replied, '*that all was but treachery in seeking of his blood.*'

"In fine, Judge Gaudy pronounced the sentence of condemnation; and afterwards exhorted him to repent himself, although, said he, 'You may better instruct me herein.' Mr. Paine demanded the time when he should suffer. It was answered, 'On Monday following, about eight of the clock.'

"After he was returned to prison, the High Sheriff and others came to him, and demanded whether he made Jesus Christ the only cause of his salvation.

"He answered affirmatively, professing unto them the Catholic truth.

"All Sunday, till five of the clock, one Dr. Withers and Dr. Sone were with him, persuading him earnestly to change his religion, the which,

said they, 'If you will alter, we doubt not to procure mercy for you.'

"This Mr. Paine told me himself, saying, that '*the ministers, by their foolish babbling, did much vex and trouble me.*'

"I, amongst many, coming unto him about ten of the clock with the officers, he most comfortably and meekly uttered words of constancy to me, and with a loving kiss took his leave of me.

"The next morning, the 2nd of April, about eight of the clock, he was laid on the hurdle, and drawn to the place of execution; where, kneeling almost half an hour, he earnestly prayed; then arising and viewing the gallows, he kissed it with a smiling countenance, and ascended the ladder, and the halter being fitted to his neck, he lifted up his eyes and hands towards heaven a pretty while, and then began to speak to the people.

"And first he made to them a declaration of his faith, confessing one God in essence or substance, and a Trinity of Persons, and that the Word was incarnate for man's redemption, &c., because I had informed him that the common people thought him to be a Jesuit, and that they said the Jesuits' opinion was that Christ is not God.

"Secondly, 'he desired God to forgive him all the sins of his life past, and to have mercy on all sinners.'

"Thirdly, He forgave all who ever had offended him, and, by name Eliot, for whom he earnestly

prayed that God would make him his companion in heavenly bliss.

"Fourthly, he declared that his feet did never tread, his hands did never write, nor his wit ever invent any treason against her Majesty; but that he always wished unto her as to his own soul; desiring Almighty God to give her in earth a prosperous reign, and afterwards eternal felicity.

"The Lord Rich willed him to confess that he then died a traitor, and to be sorry for his treason. To whom very patiently he answered, that he defied all treason, and to confess an untruth was to condemn his own soul. '*I confess truly*,' said he, '*that I die a Christian Catholic Priest*.' And addressing himself to my Lord Rich, 'Sweet my Lord,' said he, 'certify her Majesty thereof, that she suffer not innocent blood to be cast away, seeing it is no small matter.'

"Some affirmed that he had confessed his treason to the Lady Pool. He said that he knew no such person.

"Then a minister said that Mr. Paine's brother confessed to him in his chamber seven years ago, that he, the condemned, had talked of such an intention. To this he answered, being somewhat moved, '*Bone Deus! My brother is, and always hath been, a very earnest Protestant; yet I know he will not say so falsely of me:*' and then desired his brother should be sent for.

"They called for him, but then he was in town;

and when some of us came from the execution, we found his brother in our inn, of whom we asked if this was true, uttering to him all the matter. He swore unto us with great admiration, that it was most false; and told us that he would certify my Lord Rich. Immediately he was sent for to my lord, and I took horse to ride away, and as yet hear us more of it.

"To conclude, they would not tarry so long till his brother should be sent for: Mr. Paine often confessed that he died a Christian Catholic priest. They desired him to pray with him in English, but he was attentive to his end in contemplation, and being often called upon by the ministers to join with them in the Lord's Prayer, he said he had prayed in a tongue he well understood. A minister asked him whether he repented not that he had said mass; but Mr. Paine did not hear him, being in contemplation.

"After all, very meekly, when the ladder was about to be turned, he said, '*Jesus, Jesus, Jesus!*' and so did hang, not moving hand or foot. They very courteously caused men to hang on his feet, and set the knot to his ear, and suffered him to hang to death, commanding Bull, the hangman of Newgate, to dispatch 'in the quartering of him,' lest, as they said, he should revive, and rebuked him that he did not dispatch speedily.

"All the town loved him exceedingly; so did the keepers, and most of the magistrates of the

shire. No man seemed, in countenance, to mislike him, but much sorrowed at and lamented his death, who most constantly, catholicly, patiently, and meekly, ended this mortal life to rise triumphantly, his innocency known to all the world.

"He had been long in prison, very ill used, cruelly handled, and extremely sorely racked. He was once or twice demanded whether he would go to their church (for that would have made amends for all these treasons). '*Why*,' said he, '*you say I am in for treason;* discharge me of that, and then you shall know farther of my mind for the other.'

"All fair means, all foul means, all extremity, all policy, were used to find that which was not. After his racking, the Lieutenant of the Tower sent to him his servant with this letter:—

"'I have herewith sent you pen, ink, and paper; and I pray you write what you have said to Eliot, and to your host in London, concerning the Queen and the state; and therefore fail not, as you will answer at your uttermost peril.'"

To which Mr. Paine thus replied:—

"Right Worshipful,

"My duty remembered, being not able to write without better hands, I have by your appointment used the help of your servant. For answer unto your interrogations, I have already said

sufficient for a man that regardeth his own salvation; and that with such advised asseverations, uttered as amongst Christian men, ought to be believed, yet once again briefly for obedience' sake (I write).

"First, touching her Majesty, I pray God long to preserve her Highness to her honour, and her heart's desire; unto whom I always have, and during life will wish no worse, than to my own soul. If her pleasure be not that I shall live and serve her as my sovereign prince; then will I die her faithful subject, and I trust, God's true servant.

"Touching the State, I protest, that I am, and ever have been, free from the knowledge of any practise whatsoever, either within or without the realm, intended against the same; for the verity whereof, as I have often before you and the rest of her Grace's commissioners, called God to witness, so do I now again; and one day before His Majesty the truth now not credited will be then revealed.

"For Eliot, I forgive his monstrous wickedness, and defy his malicious inventions; wishing that his former behaviour towards others, being well known, as hereafter it will (be), were not a sufficient disproof of these devised slanders.

"For host or other person living, in London or elsewhere (unless they be by subornation of my bloody enemy corrupted), I know they can neither

for word, deed, or any disloyalty, justly touch me. And so before the seat of God, as also before the sight of men, will I answer at my utmost peril.

"Her Majesty's faithful subject, and Your Worship's humble prisoner,

"JOHN PAINE, PRIEST."

Mr. Paine's execution is briefly recorded by Mr. Stowe, in his "Annals" A.D. 1582. "John Paine, priest, being indicted of high treason, for words by him spoken to one Eliot, was arraigned, condemned, and executed at Chelmsford."

He suffered April 2nd, 1582.

The following account of the sufferings and Death of Edmund Gennings is taken from a very rare and curious printed quarto volume containing one hundred and ten pages, with an engraved frontispiece, at p. 1, and other illustrative engravings of great merit and character at pp. 12, 19, 27, 40, 46, 52, 62, 71.

On the engraved title in question stands the following:—"The Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Geninges, Priest, crowned with martyrdom at London, the 10th day of November, in the year MDXCI. Pretiosa in conspectu Dn̄i Mors sanctorum eius. Psal. 115. At S. Omers by Charles Boscard. An. 1614."

At the back of this the following quotation,—"S. Cyprianus, Epist. 9, *in fine*.

"O beatam ecclesiam nostram, quam temporibus

nostris gloriosus martyrum sanguis illustrat! Erat antea in operibus fratrum candida; nunc facta est in martyrum cruore purpurea."

"Happy is our church, which the glorious blood of martyrs doth in these our days illustrate! It was made white before in the workes of our brethren; but now is become purple in the blood of martyrs."

On p. 13—the printed title may be read as follows:—A Briefe Relation of the Life and Death of M. Edmund Geninges, alias Ironmonger, Priest, and Martyr, who suffered in Grayes-Inn-Fields, the 10 of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1591, and 34 of the raygne of Q. Elizabeth.

"The Approbation" stands thus:—

"Vita Sancti hujus ac constantissimi martyris et Sacerdotis, cujus pugna plurimùm crevit et pugnantis gloria, hoc libello sincerè descripta, prœlo digna est, ut ejus intuentes exitum, conversationis fidem imitentur.

"Audomaropoli, 10 Feb., 1614.

"Ioannes Redman, S. Th. D.

"Librorum Censor."

Two quaint and expressive poems follow the Introduction, thus:—

The Author to his Booke.

Go, mournfull Muse, the trumpet of my cares,
Sound out alone this dolefull accident;

Tell all the world how ill the matter fares,
'Tis hard if none will help thee to lament.
A Tyger's hart such sorrowes will deplore;
His teares I wish that never wept before.

When, as the noble Roman made returne
From forrayne conquests, and great victoryes,
They on their altars sacrifice did burne,
Their famous actes thereby to memorize.
And thus they left unto posterity
The due reward of worthy chivalry.

Shall then the sufferings of our champion sleepe,
His glorious combats and victorious strife?
No, no (deare Muse), thy pen thou now must stepe
In bloudy accents of a martyr's lyfe.
A lyfe indeed, for when his dayes had end,
Eternity of life did death amend.

(*P.* 3.)

The Booke to his Reader.

Affected words or courtly compliment
Do not expect, who ever reads this story;
Vertu's my ground, it needs no ornament,
And to deceive you so I should be sorry;
If any such there be, post to *King Liere*,
He hath applause; seek not contentment here.

Poets may paynt, and diversely adorn
Their feygned passions, and chymeras strange;
Teaching their pens to weep as one forlorn,
And up and down in barren deserts range.

But if true griefe do once possesse their mind,
They feele their combats in another kind.

My authour's playne, nor is his grief a fiction,
The world can witnesse what himself doth prove;
Read that ensues, 'tis writ for thy direction,
And ease thy passion as desert shall move.
If it be pen'd according to thy fancy,
Then learn to suffer by his constancy.

(*P.* 4.)

The author of this book, John Gennings, brother of the sufferer, wrote thus in the "Preface:"—

"I protest that *I will make mention of no one thing which I have not either known to be true myself or heard from his mouth whose life and martyrdom I write*, or have not received as true relation from very honest, virtuous, and sufficient persons, whose tender and Catholic consciences (as may justly be thought) could not bear the burden of uttering such untruths" (pp. 10, 11).

Here, then, is the record of his death, and what brought it to pass:—

Edmund Gennings was born at Litchfield, in the year 1567, and was brought up in the religion of the English State. From his very infancy he was wonderfully grave, and took no delight in the childish plays of those of his age, "but greatly

loved," writes his brother, in his published "Life" of him (p. 17), "to behold the heavens; and therefore he usually went forth in the evening to delight himself with the sight of the skies bedecked with stars. And, on a time, in these his tender years, going forth at night, according to his custom, this strange spectacle appeared to him in the air: he saw, as it were, armed men with weapons, killing and murthering others that were disarmed, and great store of blood running everywhere about them."

This strange sight put him into a great fear, which caused him to run hastily to tell his widowed mother what he had seen, and she presently went forth with three or four of her neighbours, and were all eye-witnesses of the same spectacle which happened in the beginning of our chiefest persecution.[2]

When Gennings was about the age of sixteen, he was recommended by his schoolmaster, who had been wonderfully taken with his docility and modesty, to Mr. Richard Sherwood, a Roman Catholic gentleman, to serve him as his page.

In this service he learned from his master, who was a gentleman much persecuted for his conscience, the Catholic Religion. And not long

[2] In this record the old narrative is substantially followed, with no alteration of substance or fact. An occasional instance of tautology is omitted: and here and there an obsolete phrase is turned into modern form.

after, when he was a little more than seventeen years of age, Mr. Sherwood, having determined to cross the seas, and consecrate himself to God in an ecclesiastical state (as he afterwards did, being made priest at Rheims, as appears by the College diary, in 1584, and went upon the mission the 2nd of August, that same year, with Mr. Robert Dibdale), Mr. Gennings finding in himself a strong call to the same kind of life, with earnest and repeated entreaties, obtained to be sent over to Rheims, where the college then resided, with recommendations to Dr. Allen, then President there, afterwards cardinal.

No sooner was he received into the college, but, with all diligence and alacrity, he applied himself to his studies; but, above all, to the study of the science of the saints, the fear and love of God, in which he made great progress, to the satisfaction of his superiors, one of whom has given him in writing a character to this effect:—"Edmund Gennings was provident and wise in counsel, humble in obedience, devout in Christ, strong in faith, prompt in good works, most true and sincere in his words, remarkable in his goodness, excellent in charity. He was often afflicted and sick, he suffered all patiently; there was ever in him a discretion in all his actions, and a love towards all, worthy of imitation."

He was of a very weak constitution of body, and by the extraordinary pains he took, partly in

his studies, and partly in his spiritual exercises, he fell into a great sickness, which was followed by a continual ague, and other infirmities, which at length brought him into a most dangerous consumption, insomuch that the physicians despaired of his recovery. This determined the president to send him into England, to try if the change of air might do him any service. He left Rheims not without regret, and went on his journey as far as Havre-de-Grace, in Normandy, being recommended to two or three banished English priests who were there; who, after one fortnight of his stay in that place, procured him a passage in a ship bound for London, and provided him with all things necessary for his journey.

When, behold! on a sudden, Mr. Gennings, who was very unwilling to risk himself amongst his relations, not having yet finished his studies, and attained to the order of the priesthood (of which he was so desirous,) and therefore had heartily prayed to God for the recovery of his health, desires of these good gentlemen (who had been witnesses during his abode with them, of the divers grievous assaults of his illness which he had suffered), to have a little longer patience with him, and not to insist, as they did, upon his going on board, for that he felt himself very much better, and almost as well as ever he was in his life.

They condescended to his desires, and found him, in effect, so suddenly and so wonderfully

changed, that on the very next day, he was not only able to eat his meat with a good appetite, but also to take a long walk, and give such other tokens of health as appeared not a little extraordinary.

This sudden recovery of his was esteemed miraculous, upon which he returned to Rheims, and there took up again, though with a greater fervour than ever, the course of life which his sickness had obliged him to interrupt, ever aspiring to the sacred order of priesthood, by which he might be qualified to assist the souls of his neighbours, and return to his own country to meet there with the crown of martyrdom. His common expression (as his brother relates from the testimony of his fellow-collegians), as often as occasion was offered of talking of England, and martyrdom there, being this, "*Vivamus in spe; vivamus in spe*"—"Let us live in hope, let us live in hope!"

The superiors of the college, considering his fervour, procured a dispensation from Rome, that he might be made priest before his time, being but twenty-three years of age. The preparation he made for worthily receiving this holy order was very great, and the impression which his meditations on the dignity of the priesthood, and the greatness of the charge, made upon his mind, was so strong, that it produced a wonderful effect in his very body of a shaking, as it were a palsy, which continued with him to his dying day. At this time, for his greater exercise of humility, patience,

and charity, he was made Prefect of the Infirmary, in which office he so laboured about the sick students, even in the meanest services, that he was called the very pattern of piety and humility.

He was ordained priest, *extra tempora*, by an indult granted to the college by Pope Gregory XIII. at Soissons, on March the 18th, 1590 (together with Mr. Alexander Rawlins, who suffered at York in 1595), and was sent upon the English mission by Dr. Barrett, then President of the college, on the 9th of April following, in the company of the same Mr. Rawlins, and Mr. Hugo Sewell.

In their way they met with a party of Huguenots belonging to the garrison of Crippy, who robbed them, and stripped them, and carried them into that town; the governor of which, as Mr. Gennings writes to Dr. Barrett, April 17th, from Abbeville, treated them very ill, threatened them with death, and thrust them into a dark dungeon, where they remained from Tuesday to Thursday night. "But we," says he, "despised their threats, rejoicing that we suffered these cruelties from them, for the self-same causes for which we shall suffer death in England, if God gives us strength; so that neither the prison, nor the want of meat, clothes, or beds, anyways terrified us.

"On Thursday, in the evening, after we had eat nothing that day but a little black bread, we had our papers restored to us, and we were put out of

the town, and about ten o'clock at night we arrived at the suburbs of La Fere, God Almighty showing us the way, which we knew not.

"When we had here rested our weary bodies, the next day the governor of La Fere gave us a crown, and sent us away in peace; and now we are in Abbeville!"

So far, Mr. Gennings, in his letter to Dr. Barrett, recorded in the Douay Diary.

Gennings and his companions embarked at Trèport, on the coast of Normandy, in a French vessel, the master of which promised to set them ashore in the night on the English coast. They landed near Whitby, in Yorkshire, on the side of a high cliff, with great danger of their lives; and when they came into the town to refresh themselves, they found in the inn one Ratcliffe, a pursuivant, who suspected them, and put to them many questions concerning their arrival thither; but their time was not yet come; and God delivered them out of his hands, and conducted them safe to a Catholic gentleman's house within two or three miles of Whitby.

Here they parted from one another; and Mr. Gennings, after half a year's stay in the northern parts of the kingdom, going to Lichfield, his native city, in order to gain there the souls of his nearest relations, found that most of his friends and kindred wese dead, except one brother, whom he heard to be in London, but in what part of the

town he could not learn. But as he understood the state of his soul to be at that time very bad, his charity determined him to go up to London to seek after this strayed sheep.

Here, for a whole month, he left no place untried where he could suspect his brother might be; but still, not finding him, and having now no hopes of meeting with him, he resolved to leave the town for a time. When behold! God Almighty brought him to the sight of his brother, though at first, without knowing him, and that in a strange manner. —"And thus it was," says this brother in his 'Life,' p. 54, "as I have heard from his own mouth."

Having a determination to leave London for a while, he walked forth from his inn one morning, certain days before he had purposed to travel, to visit a friend of his on the other side of the City, and passing by St. Paul's Church, when he was on the east side thereof, he suddenly felt a great alteration in his body, insomuch that his face glowed, and as he thought, his hair stood on end, and all his joints trembling for fear; his whole body seemed to be bathed in a cold sweat.

This strange accident causing him to fear some evil to be imminent towards him, or danger of being taken, he looked back to see if he could see anybody pursuing him, but seeing nobody near, except a youth in a brown-coloured cloak, making no reflection who it should be, he went forward to his intended place to say mass that day.

Not long after, on the very morning before he purposed to depart out of the town, the blessed man recollecting himself in his devotions, seriously prayed that his departure without finding his desired brother might increase his patience; and although it afflicted him very much, yet he cried out, "*Fiat voluntas tua:* my will is Thy Will; sweet Lord, Thy Will be done." His devotions being finished, he went abroad to another place, where he had promised to celebrate mass that day before his departure.

Which done, as he was returning homewards towards his inn, upon Ludgate-hill, suddenly as he was going, he felt the same motions as he had done the time before; and as the lamb naturally feareth the ravening wolf, so his innocency fearing the worst, looked back to see who followed him; and behold no man of mark, but a youth in a brown cloak, and, at the same instant, reflecting on the time past, when he suffered the like agitation, and steadfastly viewing the young man (whom he had left a little boy in the country, and had not seen for eight or nine years), he was struck with the thought that this may be his brother.

Upon this he approached the youth, and courteously saluting him, inquired what countryman he was. Hearing that he was a Staffordshire man, he civilly demanded his name, who made answer that his name was Gennings. By which he knew him certainly to be his brother, so long sought after.

Then casting an eye towards heaven, by way of love and thanks, smiling upon the party, he told him he was his kinsman, and was called "Ironmonger," and asked him what was become of his brother Edmund? The youth, not suspecting him to be the man, told him he had heard that he had gone to Rome to the Pope, and was become a notable papist, and a traitor both to God and his country; and that if he did return he would be hanged infallibly.

Mr. Edmund, hearing this, and smiling at the boy's folly, told him that he had heard his brother was a very honest man, and loved both the queen and his country, but God above all. "But tell me," said he, "good cousin John, do you not know him if you see him?" To which John answered "No;" but beginning to suspect that he was his brother, and a priest, told him he could not tell where he was, but that he greatly feared he had a brother a Papist priest, and that he was the man; swearing withal, that if it was so, he would discredit himself and all his friends, and protesting that in this he would never follow him, although in other matters he could greatly respect him.

In a word, Mr. Edmund upon this occasion discovered himself to his brother, though not telling him that he was a priest, but did not find in him any present dispositions towards his conversion; neither was it a proper time, or place, to

treat upon the subject. Therefore, taking his leave of him, he promised to see him again, after his return out of the country, and then to impart to him some affairs of great consequence.

But the conversion of his brother was to be the fruit of his martyrdom, which, after labouring for some short time in preaching, catechizing, and performing other his priestly functions, in the country, he came to meet with in London, as we shall now see.

It was on the 7th of November, 1591, that Mr. Edmund Gennings returned to London, and met that evening in a Catholic house in Holborn, Mr. Polydore Plasden, a very virtuous and godly priest, and a fellow-collegian of his at Rheims, and treating with him where they should say mass the next day (it being the octave of All Saints), they concluded to say their matins together, and to celebrate the next morning at the house of Mr. Swithin Wells, and acquainted some friends with this design.

Here, on the next day, Mr. Gennings being at the consecration, and Mr. Plasden and Mr. White, priests, Mr. Brian Lacey, gent., John Mason and Sydney Hodgson, laymen, Mrs. Wells and others being present, Topcliffe, the arch priest-catcher, with other officers, came in, and broke open the chamber-door, where he was celebrating.

Upon this occasion, the gentlemen before-named, arising from their devotions, thought

proper to oppose force to force, so as to prevent the profanation of the sacred mysteries; and one of them, Mr. Topcliffe, obstinately bent upon coming in, ran upon him to thrust him down stairs, and in the struggle fell with him.

In the mean time, Mr. Plasden, having appointed the rest to keep the broken door, went to the altar and bid Mr. Gennings go forward and finish the mass. Then returning to the door, and seeing Mr. Topcliffe hastening up with a broken head, and fearing he would raise the whole street, to pacify him, told him he should come in presently, and they would all yield themselves up his prisoners, which they did, as soon as the mass was ended; when Topcliffe, and the rest, rushing in, took Mr. Gennings as he was, in his vestments, and all the rest, men and women, to the number of about ten, with their church-stuff, books, &c., and carried them to Newgate; who were, shortly after, all examined by Justice Yonge, and returned to prison to take their trials the next sessions.

Mr. Wells, who was absent when this happened, at his return, finding his house ransacked, and his wife carried away to prison, went forthwith to Justice Yonge, to expostulate with him about the matter, and to demand his wife, and the keys of his lodging.

But the Justice, without more ado, sent him to bear the rest company, with a pair of iron bolts on his legs, and, examining him the next day in

Newgate, upon his answering that he was not, indeed, privy to the mass being said in his house, but wished he had been present, thinking his house highly honoured, by having so divine a sacrifice offered therein, the justice told him, that though he was not at the feast, he should certainly taste of the sauce.

On the 4th of December, Mr. Gennings and all the rest were brought up on their trial, and a jury was impannelled to find them all guilty; and yet all they could prove against them was no more than that one of them had said mass at Mr. Wells's house, and the rest heard the said mass. Many bitter words and scoffs were used by the judges and others upon the bench, particularly to Mr. Gennings, because he was very young, and had angered him with disputes. And the more to make him a scoff to the people, they vested him, not now in his priestly garments (in which they had before carried him through the streets), but in a ridiculous fool's coat, which they found in Mr. Wells's house.

In conclusion, the next day the jury brought in their verdict, by which the three priests were all found guilty of high treason, for returning to the realm, contrary to the statute of 27 Elizabeth; and all the rest of felony, for being found aiding and assisting to the priests. And it was appointed that they should all die at Tyburn, except Mr. Gennings and Mr. Wells, who were to be exe-

cuted before Mr. Wells's own door, in Gray's-inn-fields.

The judges, after pronouncing sentence, began to persuade them to conform to the religion of the state, assuring them that by so doing they should obtain mercy; but otherwise they must certainly expect to die. But they all bravely answered that they would live and die in the true Catholic faith, which they and all antiquity had ever professed, and that they would by no means go to the state churches, or once think that the queen could be the head of the Church in spirituals.

At their return to Newgate, the three priests were cast into the dungeon; and whilst they were there, Justice Yonge, Mr. Topcliffe, and others, twice or thrice came to the prison, and calling for Mr. Gennings, promised him both life and liberty, if he would go to their church and renounce his religion; giving him also hopes of a living, and promotion in that case, but they found him still constant and resolute. With which they being highly offended, put him into a dark hole within the prison, where he could not so much as see his own hands, nor get up and down without hazard of breaking his neck. Here he remained in prayer and contemplation, without any food or sustenance, till the hour of his death.

On the 10th of December, at eight in the morning, Mr. Plasden, Mr. White, &c., were carried to Tybourne, and there executed. Mrs. Wells, to her

great grief, was reprieved, and died in prison. Mr. Gennings and Mr. Wells were brought, according to sentence to Gray's-inn-fields, over against Mr. Wells's door, to suffer there; where, after a few speeches of some ministers that were there present, Mr. Gennings was taken off the sledge, and, like St. Andrew, joyfully saluted the gibbet prepared for him. Being put upon the ladder, many questions were asked him by some standers-by, whereto he still answered directly. At length Mr. Topcliffe cried out with a loud voice, "Gennings, Gennings, confess thy fault, thy popish treason, and the Queen, by submission, no doubt, will grant thee pardon." To which Gennings mildly answered, "I know not, Mr. Topcliffe, in what I have offended my dear anointed princess; for if I have offended her, or any other, in anything, I would willingly ask her and all the world forgiveness. If she be offended with me, without a cause, for professing my faith and religion, because I am a priest, or because I will not turn minister against my conscience, I shall be, I trust, excused and innocent, before God. 'I must obey God,' saith St. Peter, 'rather than men.' And I must not, in this case, acknowledge a fault where there is none. If to return into England priest, or to say mass, be popish treason, I here confess I am a traitor; but I think not so; and therefore I acknowledge myself guilty of these things, not with repentance or sorrow of heart, but

with an open protestation of inward joy, that I have done so good deeds; which, if they were to do again, I would, by the permission and assistance of God, accomplish the same, although with the hazard of a thousand lives."

Mr. Topcliffe being very angry at this speech, scarce giving him leave to say a *Pater noster,* bid the hangman turn the ladder; which being done, he presently caused the rope to be cut; the holy priest, being little or nothing stunned, stood on his feet, casting his eyes towards heaven, till the hangman tripped up his heels to make him fall on the block, on which he was to be quartered.

After he was dismembered, the violence of the pain caused him to utter these words with a loud voice, "Oh it smarts!" which Mr. Wells hearing replied, "Alas! sweet soul, thy pain is great, indeed, but almost past; pray for me now, most holy saint, that mine may come."

After he was ripped up, and his bowels cast into the fire, "if credit may be given," says his brother, "to hundreds of people standing by, and to the hangman himself,—the blessed martyr (his heart being in the executioner's hand) uttered these words, '*Sancte Gregori, ora pro me*';" which the hangman hearing, swore a most wicked oath, "By God's wounds! see, his heart is in my hand, and yet Gregory is in his mouth. O egregious papist!"

Amongst the Catholics who were present at

this execution there was a devout virgin, who had wholly dedicated herself to the service of God, who had a great desire to procure, if possible, some little part of his flesh, or of his blood, to keep as a relic; but not being able to come near the gibbet for the crowd, she followed his quarters as they were carried back again to Newgate to be boiled, when, many running to see them before they were carried up to boiling, to satisfy their curiosity, Bull, the hangman, took up one of the fore-quarters by the arm, which, when he had showed to the people, he flung down carelessly into the basket again, so that both the hand and arm hung over the sides of the basket; which the said virgin seeing, drew near to touch it, and laying hold of his anointed thumb, by a secret instinct, gave it a little pull, only to show her love and desire of having it; when, behold! to her great surprise, the thumb was instantly separated from the rest of the hand, and remained in her hand, which she carried off without being taken notice of by any one.

This young gentlewoman, presently after this miraculous acquisition, took a resolution to renounce entirely the world and all its vanities, and, going beyond the seas with this her relic, became a nun of the Order of St. Augustine; and, hearing of this martyr's own brother, living in the seminary of Douay, sent him, for a token, a little piece of the same thumb, enclosed in a letter, written with

her own hand, protesting the verity of all the aforesaid narration.

John Gennings, the author of this account, became a convert to the religion[3] of his brother,

[3] The most wonderful event that followed Mr. Gennings' death, was the sudden conversion of his brother. This John Gennings, being in London at the very time of his brother's execution, hearing of the same, rather rejoiced, than bewailed the untimely and bloody end of his nearest kinsman. But about ten days after his execution, towards night, having spent all that day in sport and jollity, being weary with play, he resorted home; where to repose himself, he went into a secret chamber. He was no sooner there set down, but forthwith his heart began, and he began to weigh how idly he had spent that day. Amidst these thoughts, there was presently represented to his mind, a strange imagination and apprehension of the death of his brother; and amongst other things, how he had, not long before, forsaken all worldly pleasures, and, for his religion only, endured intolerable torments. Then, within himself, he made long discourses concerning his religion and his brother's, comparing the Catholic manner of living with his. Upon this, being struck with exceeding terror and remorse, he wept bitterly, desiring God, after his fashion, to illuminate his understanding, that he might see and perceive the truth. Oh! what great joy and consolation did he feel at that instant! What reverence on the sudden, did he begin to bear to the Blessed Virgin and to the Saints of God, which before he had never scarce heard talk of! What strange emotions, as it were inspirations, with exceeding readiness of will, to change his religion, took possession of his soul! and what a heavenly conceit had he now of his dear brother's felicity! He imagined he saw him; he thought he heard him. In this ecstasy of mind, he made a vow upon the spot, as he lay prostrate on the ground, to forsake kindred and country, to find out the true knowledge of his brother's faith. Which vow he soon after performed, and departed from England without advertising

and was shortly afterwards admitted an *alumnus* of the college at Douay, where he received priest's orders in 1607, and in the following year came back to his own country. Subsequently he entered the Franciscan Order, which by his instrumentality, was set up again in England, and of which he was appointed the first Provincial. He was a great friend of Dr. Christopher Davenport—in religion the renowned Sancta Clara, who maintained that the Thirty Nine Articles, carefully examined, were capable of a Catholic explanation, and died deservedly venerated for his piety and erudition.

any of his friends, and went beyond the seas to execute his promise.

No. IX.

THE VISION AND DEATH OF ALEXANDER CROWE,

A.D. 1535—1587.

"It may be almost asserted that so late as the whole sixteenth century, the first and most essential principles of evidence were either unknown or totally disregarded. Depositions of witnesses, forthcoming if called, but not permitted to be confronted with the prisoner; written examinations of accomplices living and amenable; confessions of convicts lately hanged for the same offence; hearsays of those convicts, repeated at second-hand from others: all these formed so many classes of competent evidence, and were received as such, in the most solemn trials by very learned judges. It was a common and very lucrative practice of the sheriffs to return juries so prejudiced and partial, that, as Cardinal Wolsey observed, they would find Abel guilty of the murder of Cain. The judge held his office and income at the pleasure of the prosecution; and was often actuated by an intemperate zeal for the support of the charge, as if his indignation of the offence had stifled all tenderness towards the supposed offender. Thus ignorant of the forms and language of the whole process, unassisted by counsel, unsupported by witnesses, discountenanced by the Court, and baited by the Crown lawyers, the poor bewildered prisoners found an eligible refuge in the dreadful moment of conviction."—"Principles of Penal Law," by the Right Hon. William, first Lord Auckland.

No. IX.

THE VISION AND DEATH OF ALEXANDER CROWE,

A.D. 1535—1587.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the family of Crowe was one of position and respectability in the county of York. The heads of it and the various chiefs of its branches were in the ranks of esquires and gentlemen, living upon their own estates, and keeping up the ancient hospitality for which the people of that county then, as now, were properly famed. Some of the younger sons, as was so often the case in those days, having but slender portions when there were many children to put out in life, were compelled to adopt some trade or form of commerce; and this was the case with the father of Alexander Crowe, a man of superior intelligence, who had always lamented the miseries which so many needless changes in religion had brought upon all ranks and classes of

Englishmen, and who turned back in thought with reverence to the old days of unity of sentiment, and faith in matters of divine revelation in his native country.

Alexander Crowe, who had been brought up as a mercer by his father, resolved, at an early age, to devote himself to the special service of God, as it had been done and rendered ever since the days of the great apostle of England, St. Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury, before religion was "reformed" under King Henry VIII. But, before coming to any final decision on so important a matter, he specially devoted himself to prayer, meditation, and alms-giving; constantly invoking the Holy Spirit for light and guidance in the subject-matter on hand.

There lived in York, at this time, an old priest of the ancient order of priests, who some time previously had been connected with the great Cathedral Church of that city: but, who, after the religious change and reforms of recent days, had retired to a humble dwelling on the Western road leading towards Beverley, in the East Riding, where he lived in profound retirement, giving up his time to the service of the Most High by sacrifice, prayer, and intercession.

This priest, in the unhappy reign of Edward VI., had witnessed those most awful profanations of things sacred, which, under the inspiration of evil spirits, had taken place both in the cathedral and

parish churches of York, under the direction of persons in high positions both in Church and State. Out of a chantry-chapel in York Minster, at the altar of which he had frequently offered, an ancient and venerated image of our Blessed Saviour on the Cross, had been rudely taken down by an infuriated mob of Lutherans, Calvinists, and unbelievers, first hacked to pieces amid the jeers and execrations of the godless rabble, and then burnt. On the same occasion the aumbrey of this chantry, containing the sacred vessels for the Eucharist, had been broken open under the guidance of a foreign preacher, who urged upon the people, frenzied by falsehoods and misrepresentations, to "break down the image of Baal, and to destroy his goods"—by which he meant the chalice, paten, ciborium, and crewetts—and to "cast out utterly the accursed things." With these and other sacred vessels such atrocious and sacrilegious degradations were perpetrated as are too shocking and frightful to describe. The effect of all this, and of the other horrors which were done, was such as to have smitten the poor priest with alternations of awe and fearfulness, which he could seldom shake off. Looking for some terrible visitation from the hand of God upon the land and its inhabitants, because of such evil deeds, he withdrew himself from all complicity with those who had so profanely perpetrated them; retiring, in old age and with shattered health, to his own humble

residence, full of humble sentiments, devotion, and recollectedness, and hoping for better days.

To him went young Crowe from time to time to mourn over the religious controversies and desolation of the day, to learn over and over again the true state of religion in previous times, and to receive those gifts of instruction and Divine graces which, in secret, to obedient and devoted children of Holy Church, the old priest still quietly and unobtrusively dispensed.

One subject which constantly cropped up in conversation was the true method of preserving in the future the ancient faith of the Church of God in this realm of England, and a due succession of clerics of the old line and stamp to proclaim and apply it.

For nothing could be more unlike the old clergy than the new ministers who had been intruded into the defaced sanctuaries. Taken, too often, because others could not be had, from the lowest of the people, uneducated, under the direct influence of the foreign gospellers, sometimes frantic madmen, sometimes blaspheming fanatics; engrossed in abusing their predecessors and magnifying the regal power in things spiritual, they failed, as a rule, either in winning attention, respect, or obedience, the consequence being that never in the history of England had heresy and immorality obtained so large a licence and so wide a sway. Happy and united England, as it

once was, had become both a moral and spiritual desolation.[1]

It was facts and reflections such as these which led Alexander Crowe to "retire beyond the seas," as the current phrase ran, and devote himself to the service of God by rites and rules abolished in England, but carefully preserved abroad. He therefore went to complete his studies at Rheims; for he had already received the elements and foundation of a solid and liberal education in the city of York.

At Rheims, being highly esteemed for his zeal and virtue, he speedily won for himself the appro-

[1] "A large body of almost starving people was formed by the ruined monks, and those who had been maintained by them, either in labour or charity. Rents were enormously raised by those to whom the monastic lands fell by grant or purchase; the new landlords exacting three or four times as much as had been required by the old landlords. The poverty of the poor and the wealth of the rich, drew away class from class, and introduced that disintegration of society which caused so much trouble in the seventeenth century. The schools of the monasteries were not efficiently replaced by the new foundations which were substituted for them, the universities were far less frequented than formerly, and solid learning was replaced by superficial, few devoting themselves to real study."—"The Reformation of the Church of England," by the Rev. J. H. Blunt, M.A., chap. vi. p. 389. London: 1868.

In one of Daniel Defoe's Tracts—I cannot find the reference—it is stated that when Queen Elizabeth, in one of her "Royal Progresses," as they were termed, witnessed the miserable and degraded position of so many of the lower classes, robbed by the suppression of the monasteries and demoralized by so-called "Church Reform," she exclaimed, "The poor indeed cover the land!"

bation of his superiors; and, after due preparation and passing through the inferior orders, he was advanced to the dignity of the priesthood.

In 1584, being thirty-two years of age, he returned to his native land, and at once began to labour in his Master's Name in the county of York. Wherever those were found who lamented the changes first made under Henry VIII., there he was, ready to fortify the faithful in their devotion to an unmutilated faith, and to strengthen them in their resistance to State and regal tyranny. Here and there, in out-of-the-way places, the subtle foe of Misbelief had not as yet found an entrance. Old families, living isolated and without change in their customs, had continued firm in the ancient faith, uninfluenced by the restlessness and aggression of irreligious adventurers from the Low Countries and Geneva. To these and such as these he went.

> "So through the byeways of his well-loved land,—
> From house to house, at widespread distances,
> Old homes that nestled low in verdant parks,
> Shut in by ancient oak and spreading beech,—
> In faith and charity, a pilgrim-priest
> With sacerdotal gifts, beyond the seas
> Indued for labour in Our Lady's Isle—
> He went, with silent recollectedness,
> To shed the Sacrament of Christ's new life;
> To fortify the weak in faith; impart
> Graces and blessings from the Master's Hand,
> And guide the failing unto Death's dark vale." [3]

[3] "The Bells of Botteville Tower," pp. 51, 52. London: 1874.

Three years were the extent of his pious missionary works, largely blessed, and then his actual labours soon terminated. Having gone, by special request, to baptize the child of one Cecily Garnet at South Duffield, he was artfully betrayed into the hands of the pursuivants "by an ancient enemy," and by them hurried off to York Castle. Here the assizes were held early in the month of November, 1586. At these he was arraigned for having been made a priest abroad, contrary to the Act of Parliament, and for exercising sacerdotal functions in England, his native land; which country, it was maintained, was subject in things spiritual to the sole authority and jurisdiction of the Chief Ordinary, Queen Elizabeth, and to no one else. He pleaded simply and forcibly on his own behalf, pointing out that the faith he taught, the sacraments he administered, and the Divine gifts he bestowed, were exactly what had been dispensed to his fellow-countrymen by English clergymen since the days of St. Austin of Canterbury. He did not deny, but fully admitted, that the Queen was the lawful sovereign of England. But in a very short time very short work was made of his pleadings. He was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered for being a priest, and in due course executed.

But, when awaiting this end in confinement in York Castle, a remarkable occurrence took place. Alexander Crowe, as his companion put upon

record, was assaulted most grievously by an evil spirit, and in the manner following :—

He was confined in a room in company with a gentleman, suffering incarceration for the same offence, that is, for belonging to the ancient religion, who was astonished at the manner in which Father Crowe appeared, not only calm, but perfectly overjoyed at the thought of approaching death on the morrow.

When the evening had drawn on, Father Crowe enjoined his companion to take his usual rest, adding, "For my part, for this one night I am ready to forego repose of my body, and to watch in prayer with Christ my Master until the morning."

His companion, therefore, lay himself down and went to rest, while the father, lighting a taper and placing it on a stool, began his devotions. After an hour of silent prayer, his companion, who, though in bed, was not asleep—for it was he who put on record this occurrence—began to be astonished when the father appeared to be in conversation with some invisible person, his voice changing like that of one who is deep in an earnest argument.

At length he rose from his knees, and, going to the bedside where his companion lay, asked him if he were asleep.

"No," was the immediate response. "What can I do? How can I serve you? What is amiss?"

The distressed priest anxiously commended himself to his companion's charitable prayers, which were at once freely offered.

Father Crowe returned anew to his devotions, only, however, to be troubled even more sorely than before with agitation and anguish. He prayed most earnestly, with sighs and deep mental entreaties; but still appeared to be engaged in some sharp and severe struggle, sometimes speaking low, begging the aid of our Blessed Lord and the intercession of the saints, and then suddenly seeming to raise his voice in alarm and rage against his invisible combatant.

At length he suddenly approached the bed of his companion, having broken out with a loud recitation of the joyful Psalm, *Laudate Dominum de cœlis;* adoring God the Trinity for His unspeakable mercies, and acknowledging the divine goodness and sweetness towards the children of men. Then he sat on the side of the bed, remaining as one in a kind of trance or strange sleep for a short space of time, after which he again broke out in praise of the goodness of Almighty God.

Then he asked his companion whether he had not been terrified at what he had witnessed—the weird noises, the strange altercations, the violence wrought by no visible hand—who, in response, obtained from Father Crowe the following confession of what had actually occurred.

"After a while, having been in quiet prayer," he

put on record, "my flesh began to creep, and my hair to stand on end, for I beheld before me a monstrous apparition which began to terrify me sorely.

"'You think to-morrow to be a martyr, and to go straight to Heaven, but this cannot be, for thou art already condemned to Hell,' remarked the evil spirit. 'They will draw thee to the gallows, but not for execution; for thou shalt remain in prison, on bread and water, and lead a life of misery and woe for years. Your sufferings shall be so great that it would be better for thee to put an end to life by knife or halter.'

"'Though I shook off his temptation, struggling hard and constantly,' wrote Father Crowe, 'he never left off importuning me. Wherever I turned mine eyes, there stood the awful tempter, repeating his suggestions. When I extinguished the light, it was that I might no longer see so frightful a sight, but he still continued terrifying and molesting me very much, and the conflict went on still increasing till our Merciful Lord, taking pity on my weakness, sent me succour from Heaven. And this was that at the time when I found myself in the greatest straits, I saw a great light come in at the door, surrounding two persons, who were as I believe Our Lady and St. John the Evangelist, who by their presence gave me unspeakable comfort. And then the monster who had troubled me began to draw back and tremble; while one of them said to him, 'Begone from hence, thou cursed creature;

thou hast no part in this servant of Christ, who will shed his blood to-morrow for his Lord, and will enter into His joy. On this the apparition disappeared, and they likewise, leaving me so full of consolation that I cannot express it.

"Upon this, I came with great joy of heart, and with songs of praise on my lips, and sat me down on the bedside, not realizing whether I was in bed or on the ground, on earth or in heaven.

"This one thing do I urge and implore that, in the Name of Christ, you refrain utterly from alluding to this until my race is run, and I am delivered from the burden of the flesh.' Having thus agreed, they both discoursed on heavenly things until the morning."

But the old enemy was not to rest contented with this single defeat. On the morning of Father Crowe's death he renewed his attempt both with malignity and craft. When the gallows with the rope and ladder were reached, before the rope had been put round the father's neck, and before the fire under the adjacent caldron had been lighted, the evil spirit is said to have flung the sufferer off the ladder by physical violence,—an occurrence which led the on-looking "gospellers" to maintain that the sufferer was in despair and wished to take away his own life.

But on mounting the ladder again Father Crowe, with singular serenity of countenance and perfect trust in God, smilingly remarked to the

populace, "It is not as you imagine, my brethren, that I had any mind to kill myself. It was the enemy of souls who was so anxious to rob me of this glorious death in defence of Christ's religion, and out of envy flung me from the ladder. He has been my active enemy aforetime. But God has not suffered me to be tempted beyond that which I was able to bear; neither can the devil harm the servants of the Crucified."

Father Crowe, forgiving the hangman, praying for his country and his countrymen, then with devotion kissed the rope, and so submitted himself to the officer of a bloody and indefensible law, who proceeded to do his appointed work.

Having been hung by the neck for a while, he was cut down being yet alive, dismembered and disembowelled before his own eyes; then killed by being beheaded, cut up into four parts, his members boiled in a caldron, smeared over with pitch, and so set up on poles in different parts of his native city.

The terror and alarm which deeds like this struck into the hearts of the great body of people of England was in truth considerable. Circumstances seemed to be obviously against those who lamented the separation of the English people from the rest of Western Christendom, and who deplored the frightful errors which existed, and the miserable divisions which had been effected. Those who had attempted to stem the tide of

innovation were imprisoned, starved, persecuted, and sent to the block. Defenders of the Christian religion were held to be traitors to their country and king; while now, at the present day, three centuries and a half afterwards, no less than a hundred and fifty sects, each claiming to own "the true and original glad tidings of salvation," energetically contradict each other; at the same time that they still breed prolifically, to the further destruction of faith, to the danger of the Church, and the misery of those who seek to walk in the old paths, but are so confused and perplexed that they cannot find the way. *Beati pacifici*, therefore, be our motto: "Give peace in our time, O Lord," our constant and fervent prayer.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

THE DURHAM AND STONYHURST ANGLO-SAXON MS. COPY OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL (p. 13).

HAVING been enabled to trace this MS. from the time that it was taken away from Durham, by Dr. Thomas Lee, one of King Henry's Commissioners, to the present day, I took the liberty of writing to the Rector of Stonyhurst, in whose safe keeping it now is, for some particulars concerning the inscription on its fly-leaf. In reply to my communication, I received the following courteous letter, with the interesting information and particulars which follow:—

"Stonyhurst College, Blackburn, Sep. 16, 1878.

"Rev. and dear sir,—Absence from the college has delayed my reply to yours of the 8th instant.

"The MS. in question is a Latin copy of the Gospel of St. John only.

"The enclosed contains all the information that I can find in answer to your queries . . . Believe me, Rev. and dear sir,

"Yours obediently,

"E. J. PURBRICK, S.J.

"The Rev. Frederick George Lee, D.C.L."

ST. CUTHBERT'S MS. GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN.

The inscription at the beginning occurs on the fly-leaf opposite the first page of the text. The handwriting is said by

Whitaker to resemble that which is characteristic of Charters, *temp.* Edw. I.

It runs thus :—Evangelium Joñis quod inventum fuerat ad caput beati patris nostri Cuthberti in sepulchro jacens. Anno translac̃onis ipsius.

Pasted against the cover at the end with no fly-leaf intervening between it and the last page of the text is a paper, the writing on which runs thus:—

Hunc Evangelii Codicem
Dono accepit
ab [Georgio] Henrico Comite de Litchfield [2]
et dono dedit
Patribus Societatis Jesu,
Collegii Anglicani
Leodij; anno 1769;
Rectore ejusdem Collegij
Ioanne Howard:
Thomas Phillips, Sac. Can. Ton.

In a case along with the MS. is a Letter in the same handwriting as the above inscription, of which a copy follows this. The signature has been cut off; also the lower right-hand corner of the paper, which is a single sheet, has been accidentally torn off, and lost, leaving *lacunæ* at the ends of the three last lines of the Letter. One of the *lacunæ* certainly contained the word "Cuthbert," and no more. They are all of the same length.

[1] George Henry Lee, D.C.L., the third Earl of Litchfield, and the donor of this MS. to the Rev. Thomas Phillips, was born May 21, 1718. Through his grandmother he was great-grandson of King Charles II. In his father's lifetime, and as Viscount Quarrendon, he was elected M.P. for the City of Oxford, A.D. Feb., 1739. On attaining his title he became successively High Steward and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to which he was a great benefactor, being still remembered by name at Commemoration. He married Diana, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Frankland, of Thirkleby, co. York., Bart., and died without issue, aged fifty-four, in 1772. He was buried at Spelsbury, Oxfordshire, where a beautiful marble monument to his memory and that of his Countess still remains on the south wall of the chancel.

20th June [no place].

My dear and honoured Father,

I desire your Reverence to accept of the MS. which this note accompanies, for your Library. You will see by the short inscription at the beginning, how and when and where it came to be discovered: and I have every reason to think it is Saint Cuthbert's handwriting from the concurring evidence of these circumstances.

I showed it the Society of Antiquaries in London, and they said they could . . . . me so far as to its being of the age in which S . . . . lived; the letter M being formed, as it is in this . . . . that only

[Alia manu] Thomas Phillips to Father J. Howard.

APPENDIX II.

THE SEYMOURS OF WOLF HALL IN WILTSHIRE
(pp. 55 and 69).

On the north wall of the Church of Great Bedwyn, formerly on the pavement, there is an effigy in brass of John, son of Sir John Seymour. He is represented in a long gown, lined with fur, with loose sleeves likewise lined with the same material, and without any girdle. His hair is worn long. The inscription stands thus:—

"Here lyeth the body of John Seymour, sone and heire of Sr. John Seymoure knyght & of Margery oon of the doughters of Sr. Henry Wentworth knyght which decessed ye xb day of July the yer o Lord M. CCCCC.X on whos soule Jhu habe m'cy. & of yo. charite say a paternost & a aue."

The four shields at the angles of the slab are now lost, but in John Aubrey's time two remained, and bore the following arms:—

1st. Gules, two wings conjoined or, with a label of three

points, *Seymour;* impaling 1. Sable, a chevron between three leopards' heads caboshed or, differenced by an amulet; *Wentworth.* 2. Per cross argent and gules in 2 and 3 a fret or, over all a bendlet sable; *Spencer.* 3. A saltier engrailed. 4. A fesse double cotised. 5. Barry of six and a canton ermine. 6. Sable crusuly, three fishes hauriant.

2. Wentworth, with the quarterings, as above.

The family of Seymour was seated at Wolf Hall, anciently Ulfell, which property was acquired by the marriage of Roger Seymour, in the reign of Richard II., with Maud, the daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Esturmy.

Sir John Seymour had issue by his wife Margaret six sons and four daughters, and died in 1536, aged sixty; consequently he must have been about thirty-four years of age at the time of his eldest son's death, in 1510, which will afford some idea of the age of the latter. The family was doubly connected with royalty; first, by the marriage of Jane, the sister of the deceased, with King Henry VIII., and next by that of his younger brother, Thomas Lord Seymour of Sudeley, at a later date, with Catherine Parr, widow of the same monarch.

The Seymours, together with their ancestors the Esturmies, appear to have used the Priory Church of the Holy Trinity, near Pewsey, as a place of interment. The site of this house was granted, in 1536, to Edward Seymour, Viscount Beauchamp, afterwards Duke of Somerset. After his death, and during the minority of his son Edward, Earl of Hertford, the Priory Church having become ruined, and the monuments of the family either destroyed or defaced, the earl, in the year 1590, removed the body of his grandfather, Sir John Seymour, to Great Bedwyn, in the chancel of which church he erected to his memory an altar-tomb bearing a recumbent effigy. The remains of John, the eldest son and heir of Sir John, were probably removed from Easton to Great Bedwyn, with those of his father, as also the Purbeck slab, which contained his effigy in brass.

When King Henry VIII. married Jane Seymour, Edward Seymour, her brother, was elevated to the peerage by the title

of Viscount Beauchamp of Hache, by letters patent dated 5th of June, 1536. A year later, on the 18th of October, 1537, he was made Earl of Hertford. He was also made, for life, Lord Great Chamberlain of England. On King Henry's death, he was unanimously chosen by the Council Protector to the young king, his nephew, Edward VI., and, a month afterwards, Lord Treasurer of England. He was likewise made a Baron, on the 15th of February, 1547, and Duke of Somerset on the following day. No rise had been higher or more rapid. However, exciting by his extraordinary prosperity the envy of his contemporaries, and incurring, by his barbarous treatment of his brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, the hostility of the people, it required no great effort to hurl him from his giddy pre-eminence; and, when he did fall, the recollection of his having signed the death-warrant of his own brother deprived him of much public sympathy. The moment he affixed his signature to that deed of fratricide his own doom was signed, and it was generally observed that with his left hand he had cut off his right.

Persons of his own rank designated him a blood-sucker and murderer, and declared aloud that it was unfit that the king should remain under so ravenous a wolf. Sir William Dugdale wrote thus of him:—"Many well-disposed persons conceived a very hard opinion of him, for causing a church near Strand Bridge, and two bishops' houses, to be pulled down to make a site for his new building, to be called 'Somerset House;' in digging the foundations whereof the bones of many who had been there buried were cast up and carried into the fields. And because the stones of that church and those houses were not sufficient for that work, the steeple and most part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem, near Smithfield, were mined and overthrown with powder, and the stones carried thereto. So likewise the cloister on the north side of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the charnel-house on the south side thereof, with the chapel, the tombs and monuments therein being all beaten down, the bones of the dead carried into Finsbury fields, and the stone converted into this building; and it was confidently

affirmed that for the same purpose he intended to have pulled down St. Margaret's Church at Westminster, but that the standing thereof was preserved by his fall."

In due course he fell. In twenty-eight articles he was impeached; he acknowledged his guilt, and was pardoned. Subsequently, however, he was accused of meditating the assassination of his great rival, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and afterwards Duke of Northumberland. The Duke of Somerset was convicted in 1551, and beheaded on Tower Hill, January 22, 1552. Being attainted, his honours were supposed to have been forfeited.

His brother, Thomas, was created Baron Seymour of Sudeley February 16, 1547. He was also a Privy Councillor and Lord High Admiral. He married Henry the Eighth's widow, Katherine Parr. Conspiring against the power of his brother, the Protector, and, on becoming a widower, paying court to the Princess Elizabeth, he was committed to the Tower by Parliament, *and condemned without any form of trial.* His brother signed his death-warrant, and he was beheaded.

On the 14th of October, 1786, certain "antiquarian resurrection-men," headed by a parson, the Rev. Dr. Nash, made an examination[2] of the grave and corpse of Lady Seymour (Katherine Parr), "Upon opening the ground and heaving up the lead," wrote Dr. Nash, "we found the face totally decayed, the bones only remaining; the teeth, which were sound, had fallen out of their sockets. The body, I believe, is perfect, as it has never been opened. We thought it indelicate and indecent to uncover it; but, observing the left hand to lie at a small distance from the body, we took off the case-cloth, and found the nails and hands perfect, but of a brownish colour. The case-cloth consisted of many folds of coarse linen, dipped in wax, tar, and perhaps some gums; over this was wrapped a sheet of lead, fitted exactly close to the body. I could not perceive any remains of a wooden coffin." On that part of the lead which covered the breast was this inscription :—

[2] Archæologia, Vol. IX. pp. 1—15.

K. P.
Here Lyethe quene
Katerine wife to Kyng
Henry the VIII. and
Last the Wife of Thomas
Lord of Sudeley highe
Admyrall of England
And Vncle to Kyng
Edward the VI.
dyed
5 September
MDCCCCC
xlviii.

Edward, Duke of Somerset, by his first wife, Katherine, daughter of Sir William Fillol, had a son, Sir Edward of Berry Pomeroy, through whom the Marquis of Hertford, though in the female line, represents the family of Seymour of Wolf Hall.

On the pavement of the chancel of the parish church of Collingbourne Ducis, in Wiltshire, is a small memorial brass, only seven and a half inches in height, which represents one of the sons of William Seymour, second earl, and subsequently Marquis of Hertford. The inscription stands thus :—

"EDWARD SAINT MAVR, FOVRTH SONNE TO WIL
LIAM SAINT MAVR, EARL OF HERTFORD, AND THE
LADY FRANCES HIS WIFE, WAS BORNE AT EASTON
IN WILTSHIRE, MAIE 28. AÑO DIÑI 1630, DIED IN
THIS COLLINGBORNE, APRILL 28 AÑO DIÑI 1631 &
IS HEERE BVRIED.
SPEECHLESS THOVGH YET HE WERE, SAY ALL WEE CAN
THAT SAW, HE PROMISEDED A HOPEFVLL MAN.
SVCH FRAME OF BODY, SUCH A LIVELY SOVLE,
ARGV'D HIM WRITTEN IN THE LONG-LIV'D ROVLE.
BUT NOW WEE SEE BY SVCH AN INFANT'S LOSSE
ARE ALL BUT INFANT HOPES, WHICH DEATH MAY CROSSE."

This Edward Seymour, fourth son of William, Marquis of

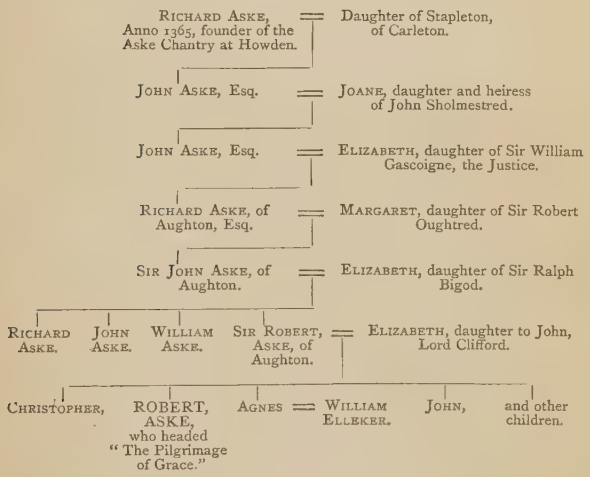
Hertford (who was restored to the dukedom of Somerset, 25th April, 1660), by Frances, his second wife, sister and co-heiress of Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, was next brother to Henry, Lord Beauchamp, the earl's eldest surviving son, father of William, third Duke of Somerset, and elder brother of John, the earl's youngest son, who became fourth Duke of Somerset, on the premature death of his nephew, William, Dec. 12th, 1671, aged nineteen.

The coffins of William, Earl of Hertford, who died in 1660, aged seventy-four; of Frances Devereux, his countess, who died in 1674, aged seventy-four; of their son, Henry, Lord Beauchamp, who died in his father's lifetime, 1653, aged twenty-seven; and of Lord Henry's son, William (who was third Duke of Somerset, and died in 1671, aged nineteen), were all found in brick graves or vaults under the chancel of Great Bedwyn parish church, during a restoration of that building in 1853. All of them were found to have had that part of the leaden coffin over the face, moulded exactly to the features; and from the difference of the features and variety of expression, it would appear that actual likenesses of the deceased were thus preserved. Portions of crimson and fawn-covered velvet, the original coverings of the oaken coffins, which enclosed those of lead, were also found. Here, too, the "antiquarian resurrection-men" exercised their curiosity by opening several. In the case of Henry, Lord Beauchamp, it was found that a bunch of rosemary-sprigs and other flowers had been placed on the breast of the corpse, the stems, leaves, and flowers of which still preserved their form.

APPENDIX III.

THE FAMILY OF ASKE OF AUGHTON, NEAR HOWDEN (p. 99).

ARMS OF ASKE: Or, three bars azure, the centre one charged with an annulet of the first. — From an Ancient MS.


RICHARD ASKE, Anno 1365, founder of the Aske Chantry at Howden.
Daughter of Stapleton, of Carleton.
JOHN ASKE, Esq.
JOANE, daughter and heiress of John Sholmestred.
JOHN ASKE, Esq.
ELIZABETH, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne, the Justice.
RICHARD ASKE, of Aughton, Esq.
MARGARET, daughter of Sir Robert Oughtred.
SIR JOHN ASKE, of Aughton.
ELIZABETH, daughter of Sir Ralph Bigod.
RICHARD ASKE.
JOHN ASKE.
WILLIAM ASKE.
SIR ROBERT, ASKE, of Aughton.
ELIZABETH, daughter to John, Lord Clifford.
CHRISTOPHER,
ROBERT, ASKE, who headed "The Pilgrimage of Grace."
AGNES
WILLIAM ELLEKER.
JOHN,
and other children.

N.B.—John Aske, eldest son of Robert Aske of Aughton, Esq. (who was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1588), married Christian, daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton. This John Aske, who was great-great-nephew of Robert Aske, Leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace, was a member of the Middle Temple, London: and is said to have "sold Aughton and all his other lands." The family, however, is by no means extinct, as the late Dr. Thomas Wilson of Pocklington, who was an antiquarian and local collector of accuracy and ability, informed me.

APPENDIX IV.

ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY
(pp. 140, 167, 170).

1. MS. AT MARISCHAL COLLEGE, ABERDEEN (p. 140).—I find that the MS. referred to in a note is not at Old Aberdeen, as I had believed, but in the library of Marischal College. It is a Sarum volume of the early part of the fifteenth century, containing several most effective illustrations placed within large initial letters. That on folio 9 represents the Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and is one of the few illuminations of that sacred tragedy still existing. The saint is represented vested for mass, and kneeling before an altar with joined palms. This altar, flanked, with curtains hanging on projecting rods, has a reredos behind it, with a representation of Our Blessed Lady bearing Her Divine Child. Over the antependium are embroidered pendants : on the centre of the altar is a chalice placed on a corporal and covered with a pall. In front, i. e. at the west, of the altar is a square platform. Two armed knights are slaying the archbishop with drawn swords. Grim the monk, terrified, stands at the north end looking on. The tragical story, though not over-accurately told, is depicted with spirit.

Some other illuminations of the volume are quaint and meritorious. That on folio 156, within the letter S, represents King David, declaring "I am come into deep waters, so that the floods run over me." The king, crowned, but otherwise in a state of nudity, is swimming on his back in a river with rocks on either side. God the Father, as the Ancient of Days, is seen in a rent in the clouds giving a benediction with His right Hand, and bearing the orb in His left. On folio 179, within the capital letter C, seven singers in copes are represented chanting. On folio 257, within the letter D, is a coped bier covered with a pall, charged with a floriated cross. Eight tall tapers are placed around the bier. On one side three clerics in choral copes are chanting at a lectern : while on the other side stand five hooded mourners. In all

the colouring is as effective and picturesque, as the various designs are good.

2. Relics of St. Thomas (p. 167).—Those which I saw in the late Cardinal Wiseman's private chapel were, it appears, his Eminence's own private property, and did not belong to the Roman Catholic See of Westminster. "The only notable relic of St. Thomas of Canterbury in this house," as the Rev. Dr. W. A. Johnson most courteously wrote to me from the Cardinal Archbishop's house, on October 4, 1878, "is a mitre. It was given to the late Cardinal Wiseman at Sens, and was brought by him from the cathedral of that city in 1840, when, after his consecration in Rome, he came to England as coadjutor to the Vicar Apostolic of the Midland district."

St. George's Cathedral, Southwark.—At this cathedral certain Relics of St. Thomas are also duly preserved. They were brought from Italy by the Hon. and Right Rev. Monsignor Talbot, D.D., and presented to the cathedral several years ago. They consist of three fragments of the saint's skull, and are enshrined in a tall silver-gilt reliquary of great beauty, from a design by the late Mr. Welby Pugin. It is in the form of a tabernacled monstrance, with a silver-gilt figure of this saint *in pontificalibus*, under a rich and elaborate canopy above. The stem and foot of this reliquary are exquisitely wrought, and the latter is beautifully enamelled. The relics themselves, placed upon a piece of cloth of gold, are arranged in the form of a trefoil, with a suitable inscription around; and are placed under crystal.

3. The Spiritual and the Temporal (p. 170).—The independence of the spiritual kingdom of Our Blessed Lord will ever be a subject of the deepest interest to Christians. So long as the World lasts the contest which has been waged from the beginning will no doubt, in some form or another, continue. Hence the intense and even passionate interest which is still taken by Catholic Christians as well as by Erastians in the struggle between St. Thomas and Henry II.

In the National Church of England, which has been enslaved ever since the passing of the Statute of Appeals in 1532, the

struggle in good earnest has again commenced. It now seems likely to be fought out. What, in recent days, was for some time a mere dispute between the bishops and clergy about "Ritual," so called, i. e. whether the public services of the Establishment should be performed with slovenliness or decency, in the spirit of a Puritan or in the spirit of a Catholic,[3] has lately given place to a wider and much more important and momentous one, viz. whether, now that the Tudor and Stuart ideas of legal authority have collapsed, and the paraphernalia surrounding them become antiquated lumber, a layman, appointed by a Parliament not necessarily Christian, should absolutely dominate all members of the Established Church as universal Parliamentary Ordinary. It is a serious question and one of the deepest interest,—involving the same battle in fact which Henry II. fought and lost, and which Henry VIII., by the sheer influence of Brute Force and advantageous circumstances, succeeded in gaining. The influence of his imperious will and revolutionary church policy is felt even now. And with increasing distaste for it.

The point, then, which the English clergy have specially to consider, and on which on any day in the future the nation may be called upon to give a judgment—thanks to Archbishop Tait, Earl Cairns, and others, is this: Shall the Church of England continue to be established?

To the parsons—when the numerous side issues are past or swept away, the question will come in another but equally momentous form: viz. Will you have subservience, slavery, and spiritual degradation, with your useful and convenient endowments as a set-off to the above; or are you ready to surrender your temporal advantages for the sake of perfect spiritual freedom?

[3] The Ritual conflict, important enough of itself, but of slender interest in comparison to that of Authority, Jurisdiction, and Spiritual Independence, has been won. The bishops were steadily against any improvements. Every step in advance, therefore, was taken in their face. But their opposition has proved fruitless. For the baptized are now beginning to learn what is the fulness of their heritage, and to claim it: and will henceforth decline to be satisfied with shams, mutilated services, or subterfuges.

To this question, the next generation of the State clergy, will, at the latest, have to give some practical answer. A study of the past, not as it has been represented by partisan historians, but as it was, becomes by consequence a duty.

The following passage, from the Rev. T. W. Mossman's "Freedom for the Church of God," shows that some at least of the clergy are prepared to sacrifice their endowments in order to secure a reasonable Christian liberty :—

"This assertion of the Church's rights can only, I feel persuaded, be carried into the sphere of action through much tribulation. As when the idol of Royal Supremacy was first set up, its inauguration was celebrated by the blood of martyrs and confessors ; so now what was then a Moloch, but has now, through the mercy of God, lost its sanguinary character, can only be displaced from its shrine in God's Church here in England with the loss of the Church's endowments, by her being willing to pay the price of the loss of some of her worldly goods. And I, for one, cannot imagine how any faithful son of the Church of England can think it too high a price to pay.

"No ! the World, and the State which represents the World, will never allow the Church to be both rich and free. There will be no such thing ever repeated in history as the people of the Lord going forth out of Egypt, from the house of bondage, after spoiling the Egyptians. The Royal Supremacy in things spiritual is far too highly prized by the World for it to be surrendered without an equivalent.

"The Royal Supremacy over the Church of England has been called, I think by some one, '*the brightest jewel in the English Crown.*'

"And so perchance it may be. But it is a jewel which has been stolen from the Crown of the Incarnate Son of God. In God's Name, then, let us replace it where only it has a right to be. On any other brow, in any other diadem than that of Christ, it shines with an ominous gleam, which is a sign of wrath and vengeance against all who have taken part, or are implicated, in the robbery which transferred it from Him to those with whom it ought not to be."—"An Earnest and Affectionate Appeal to my High Church Brethren." Second Edition, pp. 22, 23. London : 1876.

The old enactments relating to the Royal Supremacy were as follows :—

"Whereas the Royal Majesty is justly Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, and hath full authority to correct and punish all manner of heresies, schisms, errors, vices, and to exercise all other manner of jurisdictions, commonly called ecclesiastical. . . . . But the archbishop and

bishops have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, but by, under, and from the Royal Majesty," 37 Henry VIII. cap. 17.

"All authority of jurisdiction, spiritual and temporal, is derived and deducted from the King's Majesty, as Supreme Head of these Churches and realms of England and Ireland; and so justly acknowledged by the clergy of the said realms, and that all Courts Ecclesiastical within the said two realms be kept by no other power nor authority, either foreign nor within the realm, but by the authority of his Most Excellent Majesty," 1 Edward VI. cap. 2.

On this subject—which in the inevitable changes before us, will surely come to the forefront—the following remarkable admissions were recently made by the *John Bull*, a newspaper which is believed to represent a limited few of the old Church-and-State party. The Editor wrote as follows, when commenting on the work done by the recent Lambeth Conference. The article appeared on September 14th, 1878:—

"The report of the Committee on Voluntary Boards of Arbitration strikes us as chiefly valuable for its reflex bearing on the legal Court of Appeal in England. It is an enormous impediment to the unity of the Anglican Communion that the Mother Church should be fettered with a final Court of Appeal, which none of her daughters can or will appeal to. This is what never entered into the minds of those who settled the relations of Church and State at the Reformation. They had no notion of separating this island (or, rather, a part of it) from the rest of the British empire. The Royal Supremacy was asserted of Divine right within all the King's dominions, and as a religious principle it is impossible to put it on any narrower footing. For political reasons Cæsar now repudiates the things that are Cæsar's, throughout the greatest part of his dominions; in Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies, the Crown refuses to be appealed to in Ecclesiastical causes; in England alone it retains, and tightens, its grip to an extent which seems to many to comprise some of the things that are GOD's.

"*As a matter of fact, the Royal Supremacy is no longer a tenet of the Anglican Communion; and that being so, it is obvious that it can be no* religious *tenet of the Mother Church. It is simply an accident of the temporal Establishment, and many painful questions might be avoided if the fact were more clearly recognized.* It is absurd to rave at an English incumbent, as unfaithful to the principles of the Reformation, for refusing to obey the Judicial Committee, when that tribunal does not pretend to the slightest authority over the larger portion of the Reformed Church. On the other hand, a recalcitrant incumbent should remember that the legal conditions of the Establishment, and not the spiritual authority of the Church, are the

subjects of this tribunal's jurisdiction. The danger is that the Establishment itself is shaken by the greater breadth so unwisely given to the distinction. That has been always our objection to the Public Worship Regulation Act.

"To return, however, to the Report. It is manifest that the other Churches will not be ruled by the interpretation of English lawyers, either in doctrine, worship, or discipline; and then what is to be their final Court of Appeal? It cannot be the Archbishop of Canterbury so long as he is subject to the Judicial Committee, even if the Archbishop of York, the Scottish, Irish, and, above all, the American Bishops and their Churches, would agree to recognize him as a Spiritual Patriarch. Moreover, the Anglican Communion is daily giving birth to other than English-speaking Churches, who are not on any primitive principle to be bound to a new Pope at Lambeth. The patriarchal system, in short, is plainly inapplicable to the full extent of the communion; and it is hindered in the smaller area, where it might for many reasons be desirable, by the narrow-mindedness of our modern lawyers. Consequently all that remains is Voluntary Arbitration, and this is the subject of the second Report."—*John Bull.*

Although the details differed, yet the remarkable contest which certain of the clergy of the Established Church of Scotland held with the State immediately prior to the year 1843 was like in principle to that waged in the twelfth century by St. Thomas of Canterbury. This may be gathered from the terms of a noble Protest and Declaration which those Scotch clergymen issued, when, shaking off the dust from their feet, they went forth from the Establishment,—parts of which Protest are here given below:—

"We, the undersigned ministers and elders, chosen as Commissioners to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (A.D. May, 1843), indicted to meet this day, but precluded from holding the said Assembly by reason of the circumstances hereinafter set forth, in consequence of which a Free Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in accordance with the laws and constitution of the said Church, cannot at this time be holden—

"Considering that the Legislature, by their rejection of the Claim of Right adopted by the last General Assembly of the said Church, and their refusal to give redress and protection against the jurisdiction assumed, and the coercion of late repeatedly attempted to be exercised over the Courts of the Church in matters spiritual by the Civil Courts, have recognized and fixed the conditions of the Church Establishment, as henceforward to subsist in Scotland, to be such as these have been pronounced and declared by the said Civil Courts in their several recent decisions, in regard to matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, whereby it has been held *inter alia*,—

"*First*,—That the Courts of the Church by law established, and members thereof, are liable to be coerced by the Civil Courts in the exercise of their spiritual functions; and in particular in the admission to the office of the holy ministry, and the constitution of the pastoral relation, and that they are subject to be compelled to intrude ministers on reclaiming congregations in opposition to the fundamental principles of the Church, and their views of the Word of God, and to the liberties of Christ's people.

"*Second*,—That the said Civil Courts have power to interfere with and interdict the preaching of the Gospel and administration of ordinances as authorized and enjoined by the Church Courts of the Establishment.

"*Third*,—That the said Civil Courts have power to suspend spiritual censures pronounced by the Church Courts of the Establishment against ministers and probationers of the Church, and to interdict their execution as to spiritual effects, functions, and privileges.

"*Fourth*,—That the said Civil Courts have power to reduce and set aside the sentences of the Church Courts of the Establishment deposing ministers from the office of the holy ministry, and depriving probationers of their licence to preach the Gospel, with reference to the spiritual status, functions, and privileges, of such ministers and probationers—restoring them to the spiritual office and status of which the Church Courts had deprived them.

"*Fifth*,—That the said Civil Courts have power to determine on the right to sit as members of the supreme and other judicatories of the Church by law established, and to issue interdicts against sitting and voting therein, irrespective of the judgment and determination of the said judicatories.

"*Sixth*,—That the said Civil Courts have power to supersede the majority of a Church Court of the Establishment, in regard to the exercise of its spiritual functions as a Church Court, and to authorize the minority to exercise the said functions in opposition to the Court itself, and to the superior judicatories of the Establishment.

"*Seventh*.—That the said Civil Courts have power to stay processes of discipline pending before Courts of the Church by law established, and to interdict such Courts from proceeding therein.

"*Eighth*.—That no pastor of a congregation can be admitted into the Church Courts of the Establishment, and allowed to rule, as well as to teach, agreeably to the institution of the office by the Head of the Church, nor to sit in any of the judicatories of the Church, inferior or supreme—and that no additional provision can be made for the exercise of spiritual discipline among members of the Church, though not affecting any patrimonial interests, and no alteration introduced in the state of the pastoral superintendence and spiritual discipline in any parish, without the sanction of a Civil Court.

"All which jurisdiction and power on the part of the said Civil Courts severally above specified, whatever proceeding may have given occasion to its exercise, is, in our opinion, in itself inconsistent with Christian liberty,

and with the authority which the head of the Church hath conferred on the Church alone.

* * * * * *

"And finally, while firmly asserting the right and duty of the civil magistrate to maintain and support an establishment of religion in accordance with God's Word, and reserving to ourselves and our successors to strive by all lawful means, as opportunity shall in God's good providence be offered, to secure the performance of this duty agreeably to the Scriptures, and in implement of the Statutes of the kingdom of Scotland, and the obligations of the Treaty of Union as understood by us and our ancestors, but acknowledging that we do not hold ourselves at liberty to retain the benefits of the establishment while we cannot comply with the conditions now to be deemed thereto attached—WE PROTEST, that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is, and shall be lawful for us, and other Commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been this day holden as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of taking steps for ourselves and all who adhere to us—maintaining with us the Confession of Faith, and Standards of the Church of Scotland, as heretofore understood—for separating in an orderly way from the Establishment; and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God's grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of His glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house, according to His Holy Word; and we do now, for the purpose aforesaid, withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us, because of our manifold sins, and the sins of this Church and nation; but, at the same time, with an assured conviction, that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this our enforced separation from an Establishment which we loved and prized—through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of His sole and Supreme Authority as King in His Church."

ATTACKS ON ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY. — Mr. J. A. Froude has made himself notorious by his attacks on this great saint, just as the reputation of his distinguished brother, the late Mr. Richard Hurrell Froude, was so largely increased by his able account of the struggle in which St. Thomas was engaged. Of these attacks, another historical writer, Dr. E. A. Freeman, has written some sharp criticisms. Concerning Mr. J. A. Froude's account of St. Thomas, Dr. Freeman wrote thus in the *Contemporary Review* for September, 1878:—

"Mr. Froude stands alone as the one writer of any importance, of whose writings one can say that on them any process of correction would be thrown away. The evil is inherent; it is inborn. It is not mere colouring; it is not mere mistaken inference; it is not mere mistakes in detail, however gross the carelessness or ignorance which they might imply. It is the substitution, through page after page, of one narrative for another—the substitution of a story which bears no likeness to the original story, except that the same actors appear in both. When such narratives as that of Mr. Froude appear under the garb of history, it becomes the duty of those who have really studied the times which he ventures to touch, to put in their protest in the name of historic truth. I leave others to protest against Mr. Froude's treatment of the sixteenth century. I do not profess to have mastered those times in detail from original sources. I have, however, been often led to particular points in those times from various local and special quarters; and, when I have been so led, I have always found Mr. Froude's treatment of the matter which I had in hand both inadequate and inaccurate. But in the twelfth century I feel myself at home, only less at home than if Mr. Froude had come and sought me out in the eleventh. If history means truth, if it means fairness, if it means faithfully reporting what contemporary sources record, and drawing reasonable inferences from their statements, then Mr. Froude is no historian. The 'Life and Times of Thomas Becket,' whatever it may be, is not a history; because history implies truth, and the 'Life and Times of Thomas Becket' is not truth but fiction. It does not record the life of a chancellor and archbishop of the twelfth century, but the life of an imaginary being in an imaginary age. It may be a vigorous and telling party pamphlet; it is not a narrative of facts. Mr. Froude is a man of undoubted ability, of undoubted power of writing. If there is any branch of science or learning in which accuracy of statement is a matter of indifference, in which a calm putting forth of statements which are purely arbitrary can be accepted in its stead, in that branch of science or learning Mr. Froude's undoubted ability, his gift of description and narrative, may stand him in good stead. But for the writing of history, while those gifts are precious, other gifts are more precious still. In that field 'before all things truth beareth away the victory;' and among those whom truth has enrolled in her following as her men, among those who go forth to do battle for her as their sovereign lady, Mr. Froude has no part or lot. It may be his fault; it may be his misfortune; but the fact is clear. History is a record of things which happened; what passes for history in the hands of Mr. Froude is a writing in which the things which really happened find no place, and in which their place is taken by the airy children of Mr. Froude's imagination."

APPENDIX V.

RELICS OF ST. CHAD, BISHOP OF LICHFIELD (p. 204).

For the substance of the following I am indebted to the "Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus," a series edited by Brother Henry Foley, S.J.—a most important contribution to the ecclesiastical history of England:—

It appears that at the ransacking, "reforming" and robbery of Lichfield Cathedral, a certain Prebendary Dudley, "related to the famous Dudley who was formerly Lord or Baron," took away St. Chad's relics for the sake of the honour and reverence due to them, which he entrusted to two noble women, his relations, and of his own name, who lived at a mansion-house, named Russell Hall, near the county residence of Dudley. The prebendary, in the course of time, dying, these ladies, though still clinging to the ancient faith, became alarmed by reason of the severe laws; and being desirous of not exposing themselves to needless danger, gave the relics to two brothers, Henry and William Hodsheeds, who lived at Woodsaton near Sedgley in Staffordshire, by whom they were duly divided. The portions which fell to the former passed from Henry Hodsheeds to the Rev. Father Peter Turner, S.J., on September 8, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, A.D. 1615. This clergyman, who attended their owner on his death-bed, received his share of the relics from Hodsheeds' wife, "wrapped up in a piece of black buckram."

Father Turner has left on record the following concerning them:—"Both Henry and myself thought that this was the same cover in which these relics had been wrapped at the time they were laid in a silver reliquary in the Church of Lichfield. From the above-named cover I took out the sacred bones, and placed them in a wooden box, nineteen or twenty inches long, six deep, and six broad; together with the cover separately folded, and I sealed the box with two small seals of wax."

All this was attested by Father Turner, under his hand.

And it was witnessed by the Rev. William Atkins, S.J., by Francis Cotton, Thomas Wilkinson, and Richard Vavasour.

On October 1, 1652, the Rev. Father Francis Foster, English Provincial of the Jesuits, diligently inspected the relics of St. Chad, and approved of them (he being an apostolic notary). The acts were placed in the archives of the Society of Jesus.

Father Peter Turner, dying on May 27, 1655, these relics, with the approbation of Father Edward Bedingfield, were placed with John Leveson, because he belonged at that time both to the district and to the College of Blessed Aloysius. The cover above-mentioned, because it was old and tattered, was burnt by William Atkins, S.J.

On the Feast of St. Andrew, 1658, certain soldiers and others entering the house of Father Leverson, opened the box, broke one of the bones, and carried off others.

The end of a declaration, still kept at Mr. Fitzherbert's, of Swynnerton Hall, stands thus:—"I, William Atkins, on March 2, 1664, removed these sacred relics from the box, which the soldiers had broken, into another box lined with silk."

After which the following is recorded:—

"On a loose paper, an attestation of Father Richard Foster, Rector of St. Omer's, dated January 20th, 1667, at St. Omer's, stating that being Visitor of the Residence of St. Chad, he took out of the box of St. Chad's relics, in the house of a certain noble catholic, a particle of St. Chad's relics, and gave it to the Father Director of the English Sodality, to be exposed to public veneration, if the Bishop of St. Omer should think proper."

Mr. Thomas Weld Blundell, Esquire, of Ince-Blundell Hall, Crosby, has written as follows:—

"Before the opening of the Catholic Church at Birmingham I understood that the bones of the saint had been discovered in the following way:—A key was found at Swynnerton to which was attached a label, and on the label was written a statement that the key would open the chest, in which the

relics of St. Chad had been placed; and that the chest, for the sake of security, had been transported from Swynnerton to Aston Hall. On searching Aston Hall the chest containing the relics was found and the key opened it."

At Aston Hall,—which anciently belonged to the Hevingham family, and then passed by marriage to the Simeons of Brightwell in Oxfordshire, and so to the Welds of Lulworth,—there was an ancient private chapel, under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic bishop of the district.

St. Chad's relics are now preserved in a suitable and handsome shrine in the choir of the Cathedral Church of St. Chad, Birmingham.

ABBOT WHITING EXECUTED ALONE (p. 212).—From a MS. in the handwriting of the late Mr. Sharon Turner, it appears that in looking over certain transcripts of papers from the family collections of the house of Russell, he found the draft of a letter from Sir John Russell to Sir Thomas Cromwell, in which the former admits that the abbot was intentionally executed alone, so as to prevent his receiving any sympathy or aid from his two spiritual sons in the Order,—who were executed on the same day,—and because of his stubbornness and obstinacy.

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